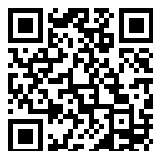

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AN
ATTEMPT
TO PROVE
THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY
FROM
THE WISDOM DISPLAYED IN ITS ORIGINAL
ESTABLISHMENT,
AND FROM
THE HISTORY OF FALSE AND CORRUPTED
SYSTEMS OF RELIGION :
IN A
SERIES OF DISCOURSES
PREACHED
BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
IN THE YEAR MDCCCVIII,

At the Lecture founded by
THE LATE REV. JOHN BAMPTON, M. A.
CANON OF SALISBURY.

BY
JOHN PENROSE, M. A.
OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

OXFORD:

At the University Press, for J. COOKE, and J. PARKER ;
And for JOHN MURRAY, Fleet Street ; F. and C. RIVINGTON, St. Paul's
Church Yard ; J. HATCHARD, Piccadilly ; and A. CONSTABLE
and Co. Edinburgh.

1808.



TO
HIS GRACE
THE
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

IT is so natural that I should deem it a high distinction to be permitted to inscribe this work to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that but few words can be requisite to express my sense of the obligation. My habits of intercourse with a county in which your Grace has been long known are such as to have instructed me in the full value of the favour thus conferred upon me. Indeed, I shall readily be believed in declaring that I feel it to be doubly gratifying, as it proceeds from a person whose character reflects the highest honour on his splendid rank.

The well-known Bampton Lectures for the year 1784 contain a view of the contrast between Christianity and Mahometanism. To those lectures I am willing to think that these may be considered as supplemental. I have endeavoured to prove the truth of the Christian religion by an inquiry into the wisdom which was displayed in its first establishment: and I have taken a line of argument which I do not recollect to have seen pursued elsewhere. In the prosecution of this inquiry I have been led into a series of historical details concerning those teachers of false religions, or of a corrupted Christianity, from whose conduct I thought it most expedient to show that the conduct of Christ himself may be distinguished by infallible criteria. And, though I have purposely abstained from any particular animadversion on the history of the Arabian legislator, still the topics which I have attempted to discuss are so similar to that of Professor White, that I may be accounted, not, indeed, as a writer of the same class, but as a labourer in the same department with him.

Every

DEDICATION.

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Every author is entitled to flatter himself that he has done something for the question of which he has treated ; and should he on this account be thought guilty of vanity, it is better to submit to that imputation than to incur the still more serious charge of trifling, willingly, with the attention of the Public. I venture, therefore, to hope that the argument of these discourses, an argument, which, if just, is certainly of the greatest importance, will be found to have been usefully conducted. Should this hope be realized, your Grace, I am sure, will not repent the encouragement which you have been pleased to bestow on him, who has the honour to subscribe himself, with the most unfeigned respect, your Grace's most obliged and obedient Servant,

JOHN PENROSE.

C. C. C. June 14, 1808.

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EXTRACT
FROM THE
LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT
OF THE LATE
REV. JOHN BAMPTON,
CANON OF SALISBURY.

—“ I give and bequeath my Lands and
“ Estates to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars
“ of the Univerfity of Oxford for ever, to have
“ and to hold all and fingular the faid Lands or
“ Estates upon trust, and to the intents and pur-
“ pofes hereinafter mentioned ; that is to fay, I
“ will and appoint that the Vice-Chancellor of
“ the Univerfity of Oxford for the time being fhall
“ take and receive all the rents, iffues, and pro-
“ fits thereof, and (after all taxes, reparations, and
“ neceffary deductions made) that he pay all the
“ remainder to the endowment of eight Divinity
“ Lecture Sermons, to be eftablifhed for ever in
“ the faid Univerfity, and to be performed in the
“ manner following :

“ I direct and appoint, that, upon the firft
“ Tuefday in Eaſter Term, a Lecturer be yearly
“ choſen

“ chosen by the Heads of Colleges only, and by
 “ no others, in the room adjoining to the Print-
 “ ing-House, between the hours of ten in the
 “ morning and two in the afternoon, to preach
 “ eight Divinity Lecture Sermons, the year fol-
 “ lowing, at St. Mary’s in Oxford, between the
 “ commencement of the last month in Lent Term,
 “ and the end of the third week in Act Term.

“ Also I direct and appoint, that the eight Di-
 “ vinity Lecture Sermons shall be preached upon
 “ either of the following Subjects—to confirm
 “ and establish the Christian Faith, and to con-
 “ fute all heretics and schismatics—upon the di-
 “ vine authority of the holy Scriptures—upon
 “ the authority of the writings of the primitive
 “ Fathers, as to the faith and practice of the pri-
 “ mitive Church—upon the Divinity of our
 “ Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—upon the Di-
 “ vinity of the Holy Ghost—upon the Articles
 “ of the Christian Faith, as comprehended in the
 “ Apostles’ and Nicene Creeds.

“ Also I direct, that thirty copies of the eight
 “ Divinity Lecture Sermons shall be always
 “ printed, within two months after they are
 “ preached, and one copy shall be given to the
 “ Chancellor of the University, and one copy to
 “ the Head of every College, and one copy to the
 “ Mayor of the city of Oxford, and one copy to
 “ be put into the Bodleian Library ; and the ex-
 “ pence

“ pence of printing them shall be paid out of the
 “ revenue of the Land or Estates given for esta-
 “ blishing the Divinity Lecture Sermons ; and
 “ the Preacher shall not be paid, nor be entitled
 “ to the revenue, before they are printed.

“ Also I direct and appoint, that no person
 “ shall be qualified to preach the Divinity Lec-
 “ ture Sermons, unless he hath taken the Degree
 “ of Master of Arts at least, in one of the two
 “ Universities of Oxford or Cambridge; and that
 “ the same person shall never preach the Divi-
 “ nity Lecture Sermons twice.”

SERMON I.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

WISDOM and craft, it has frequently been observed, are principles of distinct nature, and incompatible so far as they are distinct. They differ in the objects to which they are respectively directed, in the means which they employ, and in the results which they are calculated to produce. As the grasp of wisdom is strong and comprehensive, so its aim is permanent success. The views of craft, on the other hand, are limited by actual emergency. Though acute in the discernment, and ingenious in the application of present resources, it ascends not from the contemplation of parts to an enlarged conception of the whole. Wisdom preserves unviolated the precepts of an elevated morality, abstains from every particular expedient of which the general consequence

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quence would be prejudicial, and trusts its future, though perhaps distant triumph to the undoubted efficacy of truth. Craft, less scrupulous in its ambition, is less exact also in its casuistry; and, where an immediate interest may be advanced by politic falsehood, either is not aware of, or does not regard, that certain progress, by which falsehood, though it may prosper for a time, yet terminates eventually in defeat.

Various are the questions which this distinction might be employed successfully to elucidate, and occasions will arise in these Discourses to examine many of its most important consequences. At present, however, I shall content myself with stating, that it will be found to supply an accurate criterion, by which the truth of Christianity may be determined, without entering into any discussion on the credibility of miracles, and without denying the full importance of all those natural causes, to which alone the propagation of our faith has of late been artfully ascribed. Such a criterion must be particularly adapted to obviate those objections to our religion, which the ablest of its recent adversaries have proposed, and which contribute more powerfully than any other difficulties to perplex the doubtful

doubtful Christian, or confirm the wavering unbeliever.

Now it is manifest that Christianity exists. What we have to examine is this : Whence did it arise ? How was it propagated ? If it was established by the aid of miracles, the question of its origin must be at rest ; it is decided by the authority of God himself. Unbelievers, therefore, necessarily hold, that the establishment of our religion may reasonably be attributed to causes simply human. They assert, that the conduct of its founders, stimulated by the zeal, though purified from the unsocial spirit of the Jewish system, was wisely contrived, or fortunately adapted, to incorporate in the profession of a common faith the Jews, to whom it was represented as the consummation of the Mosaic law, and the united nations of the Gentile world^a. Motives are

^a Gibbon, chap. xv. vol. i. p. 536, 541. 4to. ed. 1789. The *intolerance*, however, to which Mr. Gibbon attributes so much effect, is somewhat inconsistent with that spirit of incorporation, which he considers at the same time as one of the early characteristics of Christianity. Those Christians who rejected the Jewish ceremonies, in some instances anathematized the Judaizers. They cannot, therefore, have been zealous for union with them under one comprehensive system.

alleged, by which it is supposed, that the craft of some, and the fanaticism of others, may have been incited to combine in the same attempt ; by which selfish passions may have been urged to cooperate with sincere piety in promoting equally the interests, of the faith, and the ambitious policy of Constantine.

The apparent tendency of such remarks is to suggest the inference, that, as the establishment of Christianity may be referred to the natural effect of human motives, no argument for the divine interference can be collected from its history. I hope, however, to show, that it is an altogether contrary inference which justly ought to be derived from this congruity between the means employed, and the effect produced : I hope to prove on this very ground, that our religion was not established by man alone, but bears genuine and indubitable traces of the finger of God.

Christianity, then, originally promulgated among the Jews, is professedly the consummation of the Jewish law ; and it is certain, also, that, freed from the temporary or local peculiarities of the Mosaic institution, it offers its impartial promises to all the kindreds of the earth. By these characters, its permanent advancement and eventual greatness have been un-

unquestionably consulted. By these characters, also, the probability of its divine origin is confirmed; for, were not the means employed for the promotion of Christianity both wise in themselves, and calculated also to harmonize with the usual motives of human action, that analogy would be violated, which, so far as we can perceive, has been invariably observed in the divine counsels, when there has been no reason for interrupting it. God lavishes not unnecessary miracles, but seems rather, in all practicable cases, to work by the instrumentality of second causes. It will be proved, however, that the mode and circumstances, in which the Christian religion was originally proposed, were not such, exclusively of miraculous interference, as might naturally have been expected to conciliate the immediate support either of the Heathen or of the Jew, nor such as the authors of the religion could possibly have devised with the political view of furthering its progress. We allow, that Christianity is, indeed, a religion accommodated to the general state, and aptly suited to the common hopes of mankind; that it accomplishes the covenant which was made with Abraham; and that it admits the Gentile to participate in

the benefits of revelation: but we contend also, that its character is no where marked with the temporary and questionable expedients of human policy.

To be able to judge in what manner Christianity was accommodated to the nature of mankind, it is necessary that we should understand the circumstances of those persons to whom it was first announced; that we take into consideration their numerous and necessary prejudices, their fond but visionary expectations. It will then be seen, that our religion, though well calculated, when it should once have taken root, to become, eventually, universal; though wisely suited to the general condition of mankind; yet had no natural probability nor prospect of immediate establishment; that it was every way repugnant to the particular opinions of the age in which it first appeared; that the policy by which it was characterized, and the objects which it was directed to attain, were such as an enthusiast, or an impostor, could not possibly have comprehended or proposed.

Christ, though we now perceive his conduct to have been adapted to the character of the Messiah, who was announced by Jewish prophecies,

phacies, did not appear as the Messiah whom the Jews expected^b. He was not received as the consummator of the law, because he did not countenance the common prejudices which existed respecting the mode of its consummation. Nor to the Gentiles of the age in which Jesus and his Apostles taught was the real discrimination between the Christian and the Jewish religion so apparent, as to acquire that favour or impartiality for the one, which was generally denied to the other; or to vindicate the Christian from that odium or contempt, which was every where the portion of the Jew. They who saw that Christianity recognized the religion of Moses, considered it as a sect of Judaism, and were not likely to enquire solicitously into the peculiar distinction of the sect, where they generally despised the religion. While Christ, therefore, to the Gentiles appeared a Jew, and to the Jews a blasphemer of their law, he could derive no political advantage from the opinions or circumstances of the age in which he lived. On no supposition can it be accounted for, that he should have pursued a conduct liable to these objections, but on the supposition that he was

^b Orobio, *Amica Coll.* p. 8. ed. Goudæ 4to.

a messenger of truth. An enthusiast or an impostor, who pretended to the reforming character, would never have exposed himself to the question, which many parts even of the apostolical writings seem intended to resolve, and which is recorded to have been asked in the second century by one of the most eminent adversaries of our faith: "Why do you rest the foundations of your doctrine upon the Jewish law, and yet abandon it as you erect the superstructure?"

It will be the object of my discourses before this assembly to illustrate the distinction which has been thus stated between the real conduct of Jesus Christ, and the conduct which any teacher of a false religion might, in the same circumstances, have naturally been expected to pursue. The great and extensive combinations, the simple, pure, unaccommodating character conspicuous in the records of Christianity, and exemplified in the history of its Author, will be compared with the temporal compliances and artifice, not only of hea-

Ἡ πῶς ἀρχεσθε μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἱερῶν, προϊοντες δὲ αὐτὰ ἀτιμαζετε; ἢ ἐχόντες ἄλλην ἀρχὴν εἰπεῖν τῇ δογματῶς, ἢ τὸν ἡμετέρον νόμον. Celsi Judæus ap. Orig. lib. ii. p. 59. ed. Spenceri.

then

then lawgivers and pretended Christs, but more particularly, also, of enthusiastic or designing Christians. The enlarged wisdom by which the counsels of God are eventually seen to be distinguished, whenever we are competent to examine them, will be contrasted with the inferior skill and transitory objects of human policy. Intentions will be traced in the original code and institution of Christianity, which no enthusiast or impostor could have entertained, and prospective designs, which the knowledge existing among mankind at the time of its publication was not adequate to form, and which the ministers and historians of its first establishment did not, probably, themselves contemplate.

In examining with this view the evidence of Christianity, as it is proposed to waive entirely the argument from miracles, I also forbear to adduce that direct testimony to the truth of the religion which is afforded by the books of the New Testament. So far, however, as these books give an account of the early history of our faith, I shall not hesitate to assume their authenticity, because their fidelity, in this respect, has seldom been denied. It is allowed, hypothetically, by those persons who think that the founders of our religion

religion were enthusiasts. They who pronounce them to have been impostors, will be involved in unnecessary difficulties, if they deny the truth of any part of the New Testament, except that which relates miracles, or bears an express testimony to the religion. These books, it is acknowledged, have all the external proofs of authenticity, in a still greater degree than any others which have survived the ravages of time ; and all the more plausible arguments against the truth of their contents have been directed, not, particularly, against the books, but generally, against the credibility of miracles, and, sometimes, against the consistency of certain doctrines with the divine attributes. Such reasoning, in whatever manner it may affect the truth of the doctrines, or the miracles, does not implicate the remainder of the history. It still continues true, that Jesus lived in Judea ; that he taught those doctrines which are delivered to us in the writings of his disciples ; that he was crucified ; and that, exclusively of real miracles, the apostles propagated his religion in the manner which is related. The acute antagonist of Christianity, who so long presided as the literary dictator of a neighbouring country, was careful not only to allow, but even to

to enforce the necessity of this admission. He opposed not the general history of Christ, but the evidence of his divine authority; and instructed his followers to occupy this ground of hostility, as being that which alone was tenable. It is plain, indeed, that a contrary position would involve, at once, the extinction of all faith in history; that it would induce us to deny the death of Cesar, because we discredit the prophecy of Artemidorus.

Assuming, therefore, with these exceptions, the correctness of the general history of the New Testament, it will be proper to consider separately the distinct principles of enthusiasm and imposture; to one of which causes the establishment of every false religion must necessarily be referred; and to manifest the truth of Christianity, by showing that the nature of the wisdom which it displays is incompatible with either imputation.

Now all enthusiasm ought not to be indiscriminately reprobated. Often a generous, and sometimes a noble feeling, it elevates the mind to that lofty sphere of great and magnanimous conception, which, in respect of earthly things, is most favourable to heroism, and, in respect of divine, to piety. And if, as we contend, there have been men, in truth, so highly

highly favoured by the Divinity, as to be appointed the peculiar ministers of his will, the instruments by which his gracious dispensations have been revealed to the whole human race, we cannot easily suppose but that such men, however cool their natural temperament, must, in a limited sense, have necessarily become enthusiasts in the mighty cause committed to them. It cannot but have warmed their hearts, and communicated new vigour to their contemplations.

Enthusiasm, however, even in its most favourable acceptance, though an admirable, a glorious quality, is not that habit of mind which is best suited to the discovery of truth. It seems always to have a tendency to disturb the balance of reason, though a tendency capable of being restrained, and, when restrained, of the most important and active usefulness. The term, also, itself is usually and most properly employed where such restraint is wanting: it commonly indicates a lively fancy, but a confined understanding. It is the ordinary characteristic of enthusiasts to be ardent in pursuits which strongly impress the imagination, but of which they little understand the real consequences; to be weak in judgment, though, perhaps, irresistible in energy. Of these

these persons we may safely affirm, that, though they have often decided the fortunes, they have never contributed to the wisdom of mankind. To the praise of eloquence in the senate, and of bravery in the field, they may be entitled with the strictest justice: but they never have proposed a juster theory of philosophy, nor a sounder principle in morals.

Among the very wildest of such enthusiasts must Christ and his apostles, on the supposition of their having taught a false religion, with sincere conviction of its truth, be necessarily ranked. Though we were to allow that one mere man may have thought himself the son of God, and that a multitude of others, in contradiction to the natural influence of every received opinion, and every selfish passion, deceived themselves into the belief, that he gave sight to the blind, and hearing to the deaf; that he raised the dead to life, and, at last, was raised also himself; yet we may still be sure that men, who were persuaded of errors so obvious and gross, could have made no discoveries of real truth, could have displayed no indications of refined wisdom, which had eluded the legislators of former times, and the philosophers of their own.

To fix the character of an enthusiast on the
author

author of Christianity, it is necessary therefore to show, that his creed is possessed of no superiority over those which existed at the time when it was first promulgated. A comparative superiority of this religion over preceding or contemporary systems may be compatible with the charge of falsity. It were idle to contend that Minos or Socrates had exhausted the wisdom of unassisted nature; that the progress of knowledge was stayed at once in the midst of its career, and that all the acquisitions of later ages can be ascribed to revelation alone. Some new impostor, it is possible to suppose, might have surpassed the ingenuity of former times: a lawgiver might have invented a more politic or a more plausible superstition than had before existed; a philosopher, though still misled by many and important prejudices, might have advanced farther than his predecessors towards the pure religion of nature: but an enthusiast could have made no progress in moral, in legislative, or in religious wisdom. If then it can be proved, that the precepts of Christianity are more pure, its doctrines more sound, and its sanctions more powerful, than can be asserted of any system, either religious or philosophical, that existed at the period of its origin; if its character, while it surpasses the

the

the knowledge, be consonant to the hopes of nature, it has not, it cannot have originated in enthusiasm. Every instance of wisdom that can be found in the religion contributes to refute the objection; and such instances might immediately be alleged, so numerous and decisive, as to form an irresistible accumulation of moral evidence. But as it is intended to prove, that there exists wisdom in Christianity of such a nature as excludes the supposition, not of enthusiasm alone, but also of imposture, it would be premature to detail either the examples, or the arguments, by which this proof is to be established, till the nature of each supposition has been examined.

I proceed then to state, that, if Christianity be an imposture, the case is this.

About eighteen centuries ago, there existed in Judea an able and eminent deceiver, whose crafty and versatile ambition excited him, as it has determined others in ancient and modern times, to assume the character of a prophet, and promulgate a new religion. His talents and intrepidity enabled him to carry on this arduous imposture with more than usual success. He availed himself adroitly of the old superstitions of his country; and the period of time, at which he lived, was well calculated to
favour

favour his pretensions. The writings of a revelation, which was believed to have been made from heaven during the earlier ages of the state, seemed to intimate that some great prophet was now to arise. This artful adventurer declared himself, accordingly, to be the expected prophet; and multitudes of the vulgar, who are ever prone to superstitious follies, fell blindly into the delusion, either duped by his pretended miracles, or captivated by his eloquence. His ambition was baffled, however, by disastrous circumstances, and he was crucified by the magistrates of his country, with the consent of the Roman governor. His sect, nevertheless, still subsists, and its numerous adherents persist with unexampled obstinacy in the assertion of their faith.

This, probably, is the light in which Christianity was beheld by the ancient heathens; and modern infidels will hardly contend, that the imputation of imposture to the author of our religion is, in this statement, inadequately expressed. It has been supposed, indeed, that Jesus himself was the impostor, and that he was able to impose on his credulous disciples by the pretence of working miracles, and rising from the dead; while the language of some unbelievers would seem to intimate, that
they

they imagined a confederacy of fraud. Yet, surely, it is an easier supposition that one man, than that many, should have consented, without the stimulus of enthusiasm, to live painfully and die miserably for the maintenance of an imposture. If, however, the contrary supposition should be preferred, it may be observed, that the arguments by which I attempt to refute the charge of fraud, as directed against Christ alone, may equally be applied to refute the same charge, as directed against any number of confederates. No change would be requisite in the second case but a change of terms, and the first is here examined directly rather than the second, only because it is the most plausible.

If Christ was an impostor, there can be no doubt of his ability. To have invented a religion more probable and specious than any other that has ever existed; which has enumerated among its sincere professors men more sober in judgment, and more cautious in their inquiries into evidence, than can be found among the assertors of Pagan or of Mohammedan superstition; the only religion, the confutation of which is apprehended by infidels themselves to involve the condemnation
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of all others, was the work of no common understanding.

Accordingly there may be discovered in the original records, and in the early history of Christianity, the marks of a most wise and penetrating insight into the human heart, and into the modes of conciliating a zealous and permanent adherence.

The pure notions of the Deity which were taught by Christ were highly necessary to procure a favourable and lasting reception for his doctrine among men of cultivated minds. The doctrine of a future state of retribution forms almost a necessary part of every system of popular and profane theology. It was prudent, but at the same time it was extremely natural, for the Author of Christianity to introduce it into his own. His wisdom is obvious, not so much in the introduction of the doctrine, as in the simplicity with which it is represented. A more ignorant or shortsighted impostor would, it is probable, not only have borrowed the opinions, but have adorned them also with the superstitions of mythology. He would have delighted to enumerate in detail the pleasures of his visionary Elysium, or would have aggravated the horrors of his Tartarus with
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the wheel of Ixion, or the rock of Sisyphus. Christ, however, seems to have foreseen, that the grossness of such fabulous representations would not long be able to resist the acuteness of sceptical criticism ; and he judged wisely in expressly announcing the existence, but in leaving the particular circumstances and condition of a future state to continue in their natural obscurity ^d.

The mode, also, in which he lived, the apparent disinterestedness of his conduct, the pu-

^d Modern history as well as ancient furnishes numerous examples, which may be compared in this respect with that of Christ.

Dr. Cotton Mather, in his *Hist. of New England*, (p. 203, &c.) asserts, that he had found a Jesuit's catechism in the Iroquois language, which declared of heaven that it is a fair soil, where they want neither meat nor clothes : that they do nothing : the fields give corn, beans, pumpkins, and the like, without tillage : the trees are always green, full, and flourishing : the sun ever shines, the fruits are never wasted. Their notions of hell are as surprising : that it is a wretched soil : a fiery pit in the centre of the earth, always dark : the devils are ill-shaped things, with vizards on, to terrify men : they have nothing to drink there but melted lead : that in hell they eat one another every day ; but anon God restores the man that was eaten, as a cropt plant in a little time repullulates. *Millar's Propag. of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 306. ed. 1731.

riety of his manners, and the strict though not morose impartiality of his precepts, were aptly suited to the acquisition of permanent esteem. The selfish impostor would have been detected by the cool inquirer, as soon as the torrent of enthusiasm had subsided which helped to facilitate his success. The loose, the unfair, the accommodating casuist would be proved, by undeniable objections, a false pretender to divine authority. The pretence, however, of interested motives was well avoided by him, who had not where to lay his head: the imputation of worldly compliances could with difficulty be fixed on him, who taught one morality to the rich and to the poor, and of whom it was asserted, as a matter of fact, not as a cause of eulogy, that with him was no respect of persons.

Such are the characters of ability which are distinguishable in the author of Christianity, and which, undoubtedly, must have contributed much to confirm the progress of his religion. It is obvious, that they are all indicative of enlarged, not of temporary policy; none conducive to its immediate establishment, though necessary to its permanence. To the personal greatness or the personal pleasure of its

its promulgator, they are not favourable, but repugnant. The general principles, indeed, of our nature extend to all places, and operate throughout all ages. They existed in Judea at the time of Christ, and we doubt not but that Christianity was conformable to, and congenial with them even there. On the whole, also, the efficacy of these general principles is stronger, because it is more lasting, than that of particular impulses or motives, which are limited to peculiar cases. Still their immediate efficacy is not so great; in the same manner as reason, though eventually more powerful, is always less violent than prejudice. But an impostor, as will be proved, must chiefly consult the immediate efficacy of the principles which he employs. Christ, however, consulted uniformly the general result, rather than the immediate; he always rejected partial success for permanent, whenever they were inconsistent with each other. This is, in brief, the essential wisdom, of which I hope to show, that it infallibly distinguishes Christianity from every example of imposture which human experience can supply, and is utterly incompatible with the charge.

To explain the arrangement, by which it is intended to prove that it is at least equally in-

compatible with the charge of enthusiasm, I must recur to what has already been advanced. It was seen, that enthusiasm, though calculated to stimulate exertion, yet tends to disturb the judgment, and that it admits of less wisdom than is admitted of by imposture. If, then, it can be proved, that wisdom so consummate as the wisdom of Christianity cannot possibly be ascribed even to an impostor, we may be certain that it can still less be ascribed to an enthusiast. Consequently there can be no resource to the unbeliever for evading arguments of the kind proposed, by adopting a different theory of unbelief. When driven from the hypothesis of imposture, he cannot take refuge in that of enthusiasm.

The argument, therefore, which is here proposed, may be applied to refute both imputations. Should it be deemed of sufficient strength to obviate the charge of imposture, it is of still greater force when directed against that of enthusiasm. This being the case, it will be perfectly correct, and it will avoid much needless repetition, to direct the general tenour of these discourses against the charge of imposture only. If it be shown, that arguments drawn from the refined excellence of the wisdom by which Christianity is distin-

distinguished, are both sufficient to disprove the charge of imposture, and also conclusive with equal or still greater force against the charge of enthusiasm, the consequence is irresistible, that the religion must be true. Should it be objected, however, that the method, by which it is proposed to disprove both imputations by reasoning that seems to militate directly only against one, is in any degree inconsistent with the strictest accuracy; the objection may be answered, by observing that this arrangement is adopted, not as necessary to the argument, but as the most concise, and, upon the whole, the most perspicuous mode of treating it. I argue not, that, because a given conduct surpasses the wisdom of an impostor, it therefore must surpass, necessarily, the wisdom of an enthusiast, till it be proved to exceed not the usual wisdom of imposture only, but the highest degree of wisdom which can possibly be attributed to man. Could we imagine cases where the enthusiast might be supposed to reason more acutely, as well as to act more energetically than the impostor, still the proposed arguments will be valid; because I assert not of any wisdom, that it is too great or too refined for an impostor, but on the supposition, from which I shall not swerve, that an

impostor is capable of attaining the highest degrees of great and refined wisdom, that any man, of whatever character, or guided by whatever principle, can possibly attain.

The principles, also, of imposture and of enthusiasm, though undoubtedly distinct, and frequently opposite in themselves, are yet often so intimately united in the same occurrence, and even in the same person, that it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to name any important event in which the one has operated without some admixture of the other. Since, then, it is proposed, not merely to state the plain argument, but also to pursue it in connection with such events and illustrations as may be selected from the religious history of mankind, the facts, which it may seem necessary hereafter to detail, will be disposed in whatever order the contiguities of place or time may seem most naturally to determine, with such comment as the peculiarities of the several cases shall suggest. I shall deem it unnecessary to make any farther separation between cases of imposture and cases of enthusiasm, than is consistent with the adoption of this arrangement. Maintaining throughout, and endeavouring to enforce the enlightened adaptation of Christianity to the nature and condition

condition of mankind, it will be my object to exhibit its contrast to the indirect and transitory policy of designing or mistaken men. The conduct which has been pursued by the teachers of religions confessedly false, and by false pretenders to the character of Messiah, will, in the first place, be considered. This part of the subject, however, will not be dwelt upon minutely, and will be comprised within the limits of my second discourse. It may then be necessary to obviate such objections as can be made to the reality of that discrimination between true and false religions which has been contended for, and to show that the character attributed to the false is not applicable to the true. The remainder of these lectures will be directed to illustrate the distinction, not between Christ, and the founders of other religions, but between the conduct of Christ, and the conduct of ambitious or enthusiastic Christians; and, at the same time, to prove, that the abuses of the religion by some of its professors are not imputable to its author, and that they are alien from its real spirit. It will be shown, in various examples, that, where Christianity has been taught not with apostolic sincerity, but with hypocritical craft, not for the glory of our Redeemer, but
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for the purposes of temporal establishment, the insincerity of the means has corresponded with the selfishness of the end. It will be shown, also, that, in other instances, a compromise has been allowed, by men of pure intentions, but of weak and prejudiced minds, between the profession of belief in Christ, and the practice, sometimes of excessive superstition, sometimes even of absolute idolatry.

Early, very early in the history of the Christian church, we find compliances with, and imitations of Pagan ceremonies: concessions to existing error, the present policy of which was undeniable, and of which their authors did not perceive the unhappy consequences in reserve. In the early rise of the power of the Roman Pontiff, a similar policy is to be remarked. It is still more remarkable in the conduct of the Papal court during the period of its after greatness. This ground, as having been frequently preoccupied, will be passed over with only cursory examination. The history of the order of the Jesuits will, in the next and last place, be discussed with more particularity. The tyranny of their constitutions, the relaxed morality of their casuists, and the accommodating doctrines of their missionaries, will be shown to be as remote from
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the holy simplicity of him whose name they have dared to assume^e, as they are useful for the purposes of private aggrandizement. In the ambition of their European policy, in their toleration of idolatrous ceremonies in Asia, and in the foundation of an ecclesiastical empire in the recesses of the new world, they will be shown to disclose, uniformly, an acute but partial genius, fertile in particular resources, but not possessed of lasting wisdom.

These are the objects of which it is proposed to treat. And from the arguments which their examination will supply, the following conclusion will arise.

If Jesus Christ had acted from motives of human ambition, from any selfish or insincere principle, he would have adopted a conduct altogether contrary to that which he really pursued. He came forward, not only disclaiming all human power, but acting also in

^e "Le capitaine de leur compagnie." "On a remarqué quelque part, que comme les Empereurs Romains étoient appelés Africains, Germains, &c. non pas parcequ'ils étoient amis ou alliés de ces peuples: de même les Jesuites sont appelés du nom de Jesus, parcequ'ils sont ses plus grands ennemis." Histoire de l'admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuscoa, 12mo. à la Haye, 1764. vol. i. p. 164. note.

a manner

a manner the least likely to acquire it : he counteracted all the prejudices of the world, and neglected all its pleasures. His death, on the supposition of his being an impostor, was the miscarriage of his scheme ; and yet it could not have been unforeseen, because it was the natural consequence of his policy. It is a fate, perhaps, which many impostors have been content to risk ; but Christ, though consummate in his wisdom, seems by his conduct to have advanced steadily towards the cross ; and to have chosen it, not as the alternative to be submitted to upon defeat, but as the end and crown of his ambition. He, therefore, was no impostor. It is manifest, also, that he was no enthusiast ; for, in that case, still less than on the supposition of imposture, could he have emancipated himself from the prejudices which he rejected, or foreseen the imputations against which he provided. The kingdom then which he has established is not of this world : he was guided by no rule, supported by no motive, but what were derived from perfect benevolence, and emanated from truth itself.

SERMON II.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

IT is well known, that the legislators of heathen antiquity pretended a divine sanction to the precepts which they delivered^a; an undoubted imposition on mankind, which may be partly referable to deceit, and partly to enthusiasm or error; but still an imposition, which, if we consider it without prejudice, is deserving neither of hatred nor contempt. The magistrate and the priest have seemed, indeed, to share the indignation of unbelievers; and it is certain, that an enmity to Christ ought consistently to be accompanied by a similar hatred of Zoroaster and Numa. Christians, also, themselves have often been inclined, injudiciously, I think, and unjustly,

^a See Appendix I.

to

to depress the merits of the heathen lawgivers and moralists, that they might elevate the comparative superiority of Christ; a superiority which needs not the depression of other characters to be decidedly felt and acknowledged.

If, however, we are disposed to revere the memory of those first authors of human improvement, who reclaimed the savage from his wild and wandering existence to the order of society, and the arts of peaceful life^b; if we are grateful for the establishment of civil legislation, we ought not to deny the same suffrage to the teachers of religious doctrines, though imperfect in truth, or deformed by superstition; since it is by the sanctions of religion only that the restraints of law can be effectually secured^c.

^b Cic. de Inv. I. 2.

^c Ουδε γὰρ ἄτερος λόγος ἔχει τι φαυλὸν ὃν περὶ Λυκέρου καὶ Νύμα καὶ τοιούτων ἀλλων ἀνδρῶν λεγουσιν, ὡς δυσκαθέκτα καὶ δυσάρεστα πλῆθη χειρουμένοι, καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντες ταῖς πολιτικαῖς καινοτομίαις, πρὸς ἐποίησάν τοι τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δοξᾶν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοις πρὸς οὓς ἐχηματίζοντο σωτηρίον ἔσαν. Plutarch. Numa, p. 62. ed. Paris.

“ Mais à cet aveuglement près, qu’il faut faire voir
 “ inexcusable, pourquoi ne loueroit-on pas les législateurs
 “ de l’Orient, aussi bien que les législateurs Grecs, de ce
 “ qu’ils se sont appliquez à inspirer aux peuples ce qui
 “ leur

I mean not, therefore, by any observations which may be suggested on the origin of idolatry, or the defects of the heathen religions, to derogate from that honour, which the gratitude of past, or the admiration of present times, may have bestowed either on the sages or the legislators of heathenism. While I study to illustrate the superior purity of the Christian revelation, I refuse not to pay willingly that tribute of applause, which justly may be assigned to Gentile wisdom.

It is evident from profane history, as well as from the Mosaic records, that idolatry advanced, by gradual progress, from the more simple to the more complex forms^d. In the heathen world, while the idea of creation out of nothing, or of absolute annihilation, seems

“leur a paru le plus vertueux, et le plus propre à les
 “maintenir dans la paix, et dans l’innocence? Pourquoi
 “les blameroit-on des fables, qu’une longue suite de siècles
 “pleins d’ignorance a inventées sur leur sujet, et dont
 “probablement ils n’ont point été les auteurs.” Loubere,
 Du Royaume de Siam, vol. i. p. 430. Amst. 1691.

^d “... antiquitate, quæ quo propius aberat ab ortu, et
 “divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortasse, quæ erant vera,
 “cernebat.” Cic. Tusc. I. §. 12. See Stillingfleet on
 the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, Works,
 vol. v. p. 25. and Burnet’s Arch. p. 26.

anciently

anciently to have been unknown^e, theistic philosophers appear to have held, either that the seeds of the elements, possessing in themselves a vivifying power, had lain dormant in an original chaos, of which the materials had been organized by the divinity, but not created; or that a portion of the celestial mind had been infused into brute matter, which would be again resolved into deity at some future period. In consequence of this belief, a peculiar veneration may have arisen for the elements, as principles in themselves eternal and incorruptible, though called into action by the supreme God. Hence, probably, the worship of the elements, as of the planetary bodies, originated^f; and hence it was plausibly defended, as being offered to the divine energy, conspicuous in the phænomena which they exhibit. Such doctrines may have been figuratively applied, by the more learned theorists, to the history of the creation of the world; and the

^e Burnet. *Archæologia*, p. 90. "Quidam Platonico-rum creationem ex nihilo receperunt edocti a Christianis," is the title of a chapter in Mosheim's treatise; "De Studio Ethnicorum Christianos imitandi."

^f See Ainsworth on Genesis iv. 26. and Maimonides *Misna*, c. i. §. 1, 2, 3. *ibi cit.*

agency

agency of the elements in that great event may have been dramatically represented, both in strong language, and by impressive actions^g. The universal principle of deity was to be worshipped, it probably was thought, with a peculiar reverence, in these its most glorious manifestations^h. Yet it is certain, that, whenever the distance or the immensity of the supreme existence may seem to the limited understanding of mankind too great for adoration or for prayerⁱ, whenever the media of created bodies or of created minds are deemed expedient to facilitate an intercourse with the Creator, whatever casuistical apologies may be invented for such practices^k, their real effect is to induce in the adorers a dependance not on the one God, whose existence they profess to believe, but on the creatures which they immediately address.

The most pardonable, however, of all idolatries, is the worship of those great instruments

^g Burnet ubi sup. p. 36, 37, 38. and the authors there cited.

^h See Appendix II.

ⁱ Hyde of Sabaism, R. V. P. c. v. p. 128. ed. 1760.

^k As by Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, and others, cited by Stillingfleet, "On the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome," Works, v. 28, 29.

of the Deity, so simple in themselves, so infinitely various in their appearances, of which the universe is composed; and, particularly, of those splendid luminaries, which are created to govern and adorn the vicissitudes of day and night. The doctrine also of the universal soul diffused throughout all space, living and acting in all creation, though, undoubtedly, both dangerous and illusive¹, though completely irreligious in its necessary consequences, yet operates immediately on the fan-

¹ The nature and consequences of this doctrine are well explained in the Appendix to Ditton on the Resurrection. The distinction between Christianity and Judaism on one hand, and the opinions of enlightened heathens on the other, respecting what is termed by Dr. Paley, for want, possibly, of a better word, the Personality of the Deity, does not seem to be generally admitted in its full extent. It is commonly supposed, that, notwithstanding the popular errors of Paganism, the conviction was usually prevalent among philosophers, that there existed some superior mind, by which the universe was created: but it will be found, I believe, on examination, that very much (certainly not the whole) of the authority from which this conclusion has been inferred, is more justly applicable to the doctrine, that the world itself is God, or, that God is harmony; to which much splendid declamation, both of Greek and Latin writers, may be traced. "Deum
" nanique ire per omnes," &c. &c. &c. See Jortin's Remarks, i. 192. ed. Edin. 1805.

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ty as a vast and magnificent, and even as a pious conception. It is in the circumstances of a popular religion, which, though false, is thus comparatively simple, that enlightened individuals are most likely to apprehend or teach a purer notion of the divinity. The accumulated monsters of classical mythology may tend to disgust a philosophical understanding; the fetters of superstition may be loosened by their own weight: but the circumstances which offend the mind with error are not calculated to promote the discovery of truth. Contempt and incredulity may often be as unfavourable to the real improvement of the understanding, as the contrary failings of stupid admiration and ignorant belief.

The Persian legislator, therefore, being less exposed to prejudices either congenial with, or adverse to superstition, than sages who, if not of later date, were of nations more deeply sunk in error, was favourably circumstanced both for personally acquiring religious knowledge, and for devising the most unexceptionable method of purifying the simple idolatry of the country in which he lived. He, if any one, might naturally have been expected in the excellence and unexceptionableness of his wisdom to rival the author of Christianity.

Yet, though the absurd miracles which are recounted in the life of Zoroaster^m, and by means of which his doctrines are said to have been propagated, be considered, as they evidently seem, the invention of an age subsequent to his own, yet, even in that reformation of oriental religion which is attributed to him by his apologists, compliances with received usages are to be discovered, clearly inconsistent with purity of worship. Even in this reformed religion it was directed, that the ceremonies should be observed of prostration, and of administering oaths before the altar on which the sacred fire was kindled. It was inculcated as the most strict and indispensable of duties, that this fire itself should be preserved from violation. And though these observances should be considered as in themselves excusable, because it was taught not that fire possessed an inherent sanctity, but only that it was to be regarded as the apt and immediate symbol of the Deityⁿ; yet, in the circumstances of Persia, where the worship of fire was confessedly the idolatry to be reformed^o,

^m Hyde, Vet. R. P. cap. 24.

ⁿ Universal History, vol. ii. p. 72, 73. fol.

^o Hyde, cap. 5.

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the permission of rites so capable of perversion must necessarily have compromised the integrity of the new institute ^p. These rites themselves must have partaken of an idolatrous acceptance, and their inconsistency, therefore, with true religion admits not of a doubt.

A flagrant degree also of superstition, which, though it amount not to idolatry, may still be safely pronounced incompatible with a pure worship, is easily to be discovered in the records of the Persic religion. The character, indeed, of superstition is far less certain and precise than that of idolatry: it is, in truth, so undefined and doubtful, that we should be presumptuous, were we hastily to reject whatever may appear to be superstitious. Yet there are some extremes of superstition, of which, though they involve not the guilt of idolatry, we may venture unequivocally to as-

^p Deuteronomy iv. 19. Ezekiel viii. 16, 17. I pretend not, however, that Zoroaster was an impostor. The Bishop of Avranches contends, that he was the same with Moses. Some of the similarities, which are enumerated by that learned Prelate to confirm this opinion, are not altogether productive of very sensible conviction. "*Alienas facultates concupisci vetat Zoroastres; vetat et Moses. Studium legis suæ valde commendat Zoroastres; itidem ut Moses suæ,*" &c. *Demonstratio Evang. p. 76. fol. Paris, 1679.*

firm, that they cannot possibly proceed from God. The books attributed to Zoroaster include extremes which obviously are of this kind. They declare, that there exist genii or angels presiding over months and days; that it is the performance of merely positive and arbitrary, not moral precepts, which enables the soul to pass with safety over the bridge of death; that the power or activity of demons is superior by night to that which they possess by day; and that the due celebration of certain festivals averts the influence of such malignant beings⁹. These superstitions, to omit a longer enumeration, are manifestly unworthy of divine wisdom, and necessarily destroy the credit of the religion by which they are recognized. They are indulgences to error at the expence of truth, which, though they may have been dictated by an acute perception of present utility, are inconsistent with real wisdom.

I am sufficiently aware, that the authenticity of the writings to which I have referred has long been questioned, and is now almost universally denied^r. I must observe, how-

⁹ Sadder, Porta vi. et lxxii.

^r “ Tous les étudiants de la littérature Orientale savoient
 “ déjà que les misérables poèmes appelés Saddar et Ardi-
 “ viraf

ever, that the spuriousness of the Sadder or the Zeud, works which deserve only to be ranked with the gospel of James, or with the acts of Pilate, though it may change, in some respects, the nature of the comparison, yet diminishes not the strength of whatever inferences may arise in favour of Christianity, from contrasting it with the religion, whether ancient, or comparatively modern, which is now known to us as the Persic. If at the invasion of Persia by the Musulmans the genuine books of Zoroaster were lost, yet the general spirit of his religion may have been retained even in the forgeries substituted in their place*. At all events, a less imperfect conception of his original doctrines may be derived from these

“vrais Nama étoient écrits en langue Persane moderne et seulement en caractères anciens.” Sir W. Jones. (Lettre à M. Anquetil du Perron. Works, vol. iv. p. 600.) See also the sixth Anniversary Discourse; Works, vol. i. p. 81, &c. where the history of the ancient Persic language is shortly and satisfactorily discussed.

* “It became expedient for the Mubeds (after the Musulman invasion) to supply the lost or mutilated works of their legislator by new compositions, partly from their imperfect recollection, and partly from such moral and religious knowledge as they gleaned most probably among the Christians with whom they had an intercourse.” Ibid. p. 82.

national, though secondary representations, than from any of the incorrect notices which Grecian writers can supply. It is probable, indeed, that the influence of Christianity, which had so beneficial an effect upon the Mohammedan, must have operated in a similar manner on this revival of the Persic religion. The purer system must have corrected tacitly, even where it was not expressly imitated. In this case, the religion of Persia, as it is now represented to us, must be less exceptionable than it would have been found in its ancient documents, had they been preserved, and the superiority of Christ to Zoroaster must be in reality still greater than it appears to be.

They who are versed in eastern learning, without partaking of the excessive credulity which seems frequently to have attended the prosecution of that study, may be able to trace with accuracy and interest the progress of idolatry, from the simpler forms in which it first existed, to the worship of deified heroes, and even to the flagrant absurdities of Egypt^t.

^t “Sicut apud Ægyptios veteres *αἱ οἰκίαι ἱερῶν*, templa sine idolis erant, ut docet nos Lucianus de Dea Syria, sic prisca Græci templa sine simulachris habuere usque ad Cecropem Atheniensium regem primum.” Potter. Arch. Græca. p. 201. apud Gronovium. “Quam quidem

From Egypt to Greece, from Greece to Rome, the progress of superstition rapidly advanced. To enter into a particular examination of the religions of classical antiquity before the audience which is here assembled, would be an unnecessary and presumptuous attempt. It is only necessary to observe, that the ancient sages always inculcated an external compliance with the received superstitions of their times. Though the magistrate did not invent, though the philosopher might not believe in "the thirty thousand deities of one poet", nor in the war, the dissoluteness and the fraud which disgrace the popular theology of another, he hesitated not to offer incense on the altars of the gods. Some among the sages of antiquity might be infidels in all religion, some might make advances towards a pure

"quidem Theogoniam postea Græculi, qui Deos ανδρωπο-
 "φους fingebant, in deorum suorum genealogiam crassam
 "convertere." Burnet. Arch. 38.

"For the nature of philosophical infidelity in the ancient world, see Maclaine's Answer to Soame Jenyns, P. 53, 54.

* Τρις γαρ μυριοι εισιν επι χθονι πελυβοταιρη
 Αθανatoi Ζηνος, φυλακες θυητων ανθρωπων.
 Οι ρα φυλασσειν τε δικας, και σχετλια εργα,
 Ηερα εσσαμενοι, παντη φοιτωντες επ' αιαν.

Hesiod. Op. et Dies, 250. &c.

theism,

theism, more might be sceptics, and some, perhaps, sincere idolaters. Some may have exposed to their select disciples the fallacies of popular mythology, and instructed them in a purer notion of the deity ; but they delivered this instruction as a branch of philosophy alone, not as the ground of novel worship : nor did they conceive that any but the seditious would ever be inclined to disturb the temporal repose of useful superstitions. Religion, in the Gentile world, was uniformly considered as a part of civil legislation, and subservient to the ends of government. Plato, though he undoubtedly disbelieved the polytheism of Greece, though he directed that the magistrates of his imaginary republic should be educated in pure and philosophical principles, proposed also the public establishment of a religion, which recognized, in a great degree, popular superstitions. Cicero, in his speculative legislation, adopted the same policy, inculcated, in this respect, an unreserved submission to authority, and permitted not a liberty of worship to the citizen even in private.

γ Plato de Rep. lib. ii. iii. de Leg. lib. viii. in init. Cic. de Leg. ii. 8. and as cited in Middleton's Tracts, p. 168, 169. See Appendix III.

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Had Christ then been an impostor, though possessed of the acuteest penetration, and the most extensive knowledge, he could not have collected from the experience of the Gentile world even the possibility of success, in the attempt to promulgate a religion, which pretended to exclusive truth, while it conformed not to existing prejudices. Neither philosophers nor legislators had yet engaged in so arduous a task. There was another enterprise, indeed, and of a brilliancy far more splendid and flattering, in which the history of past events might have suggested to him the means, and encouraged the anticipations of success. Those persons who recollect the proneness of the Gentile converts to deify the apostles, and the readiness with which new worship was adopted, in addition to the ancient superstitions, both in Italy and Greece, will possibly think, that to a deceiver so designing, and yet so patient, so really artful, and yet so apparently ingenuous, it was far from being impossible to acquire the reputation of an inspired lawgiver, or to become the object of divine worship. The new deity who arose in Palestine might aspire to the same honours which were rendered to the Delian Apollo, or to Thracian Mars, or might assume a station
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in the Roman capitol beside the temple of Feretrian Jupiter. Such a career of glory would, probably, have appeared sufficiently splendid to an impostor. It was all that the boldest and the most fortunate of men had been able to obtain even in the dark ignorance of former ages; and there existed nothing in the records of history, from which the idea of pursuing a different system could possibly be collected. The observance of this system presupposes an acquiescence in the received idolatries of the Gentile world. The religious toleration, which was admitted by Polytheists, and which has been so much exaggerated by unbelievers in Christianity, existed only because it was perfectly compatible with the polytheistic principle, and, indeed, its natural and necessary consequence*. If Christ had been an impostor desirous to become the object of idolatry, he would not have inculcated the impiety of idol worship.

Is it supposed that his ambition was of a higher nature, that he was of a spirit too exalted to be contented with the dignity of an

* The Christians accordingly were considered Atheists by the Gentiles, because they were not idolaters.

apothéosis,

apotheosis, and that he aspired to nothing less than the glory of dictating to the world an exclusive religion? In the first place, as may be collected from what has been said before, this is not an object which it is likely for an impostor to have pursued. Admitting it, however, to have been pursued by Christ, he did not take the means which human wisdom would have suggested for its accomplishment. The pure notions of the Deity which he taught might, possibly, have been agreeable to philosophers; but repentance, humility, and remission of sins were to them, in the expressive language of St. Paul, foolishness. It is not, however, to philosophers so much as to the populace that an impostor would have addressed himself. Human wisdom, founded upon human experience, and directed by human probabilities, would have led him to prepare the way for an universal and exclusive reception of his doctrines among the people, by, at least, a temporary acquiescence in existing establishments and superstition. An impostor would not have hoped to supersede the worship which was offered in Persia to the Magian God, without professing, at first, a superstitious reverence for fire. It was by gradual insinuation among a crowd of deities, that the fabled

fabled Jupiter had been long received as father of the gods in all the countries of Italy and Greece. The reputation of Isis and Osiris, during the first introduction of Christianity, was sensibly extending itself beyond the bounds of Egypt, and soon after became so prevalent at Rome, that the votaries of the ancient worship were alarmed at the innovation, and jealous for the injured dignity of their established gods ^a.

The author, however, of our religion, being born a Jew, would scarcely have so much consulted the means of recommending himself to the Gentile world, as he would have endeavoured to conciliate the support of his own nation. Could it be supposed (an improbable supposition ^b) that he was free from national bigotry, he yet could scarcely have overlooked the manifest advantages which might be supplied to an ambitious spirit by the received superstitions of Judea ^c. If he had been wil-

^a Potter's Antiquities, I. 184. and the authors there cited.

^b See Maltby's Illustrations, 86, 93, &c. 2d edit.

^c Celsus (apud Orig. p. 66.) objects a defect of policy to Christ, in not procuring to himself over the minds of his disciples so powerful a dominion as it was in his power to have obtained. Doubtless, by refusing to concur in their

ling to profit by the dispositions of his age and people for the establishment of his power, the means that might promote success were all abundantly within his reach. The Israelites, indignant at the Roman yoke, were ripe for a revolt, and ready in any adventurer to behold the expected prince, who was to be born to them as at this time in their own nation. Fain would they have made Christ a king. Had his kingdom been of this world, why did he refuse the offer? Why did he, if labouring for the introduction of a false religion, reject a crown, which would have enabled him to establish that religion at once in the manner which would be most flattering to an ambitious spirit; a crown, which, delivered to him at this time, and in these circumstances, would have included hierarchal as well as regal dignity. The abilities which, in defiance of all preconceived expectations, and even beyond the hopes of his disciples, have so fortified his religion, that the powers of man have not yet prevailed against it, would surely have been able, would have been able with an easy tri-

their national prejudices, he did not act in such a manner as might seem calculated to promote his influence, according to the obvious policy of mankind; but their objection is an argument of his sincerity.

umph,

umph, to restore the throne of David. The most brilliant part that Jesus could have acted was the most safe. Armies devoted to their general, and stimulated by religious and patriotic zeal, might have fallen with fury irresistible on the surrounding heathen: the religion of Moses and the prophets might have been imposed triumphantly on the western world, and Jerusalem, not Mecca, might have given law to the kingdoms of the east.

Such claims of temporal dominion, and such means of prosecuting them, have uniformly been assumed by all other pretenders to the sacred character of Messiah. It was by war that the robber Barchochabas attempted to sustain the appellation and office of a conquering Messiah^d. The reputed magician of Amaria, who in Persia, during the twelfth century, aspired to the same title, deluded the fanatic multitude which adhered to him to erect the standard of rebellion^e. They, indeed, who

^d Basnage, VI. ix. 10. translated by T. Taylor. fol. 1708. p. 515. See sect. 12, 15, 20, 21.

^e David Al-roi, a Persian, who, it may be observed, must have appeared at an earlier period of the twelfth century than is assigned to him by Jortin. (Jortin's Remarks, ii. 188. Kidder's Messias, iii. 403. et sqq. 8vo. 1700. Benj. Tudelenfis Itinerar. p. 91. et sqq. Lugd. Bat. 1633.)

have

have adopted this obvious policy of ambition, are too many to be here enumerated. The period of one hundred and fifty years has not yet elapsed, since the last and most conspicuous of these impostors began his short but remarkable career. He found the credulous Israelites impressed with the immediate expectation of some extraordinary deliverance. He declared himself expressly to be the Christ: he announced the future grandeur of the earthly monarchy which he was to establish; and asserted, that the strong hand of the Almighty was even now about to reassemble the scattered tribes from every quarter of the globe^f. The anticipations and prophecies of success, which proceeded both from himself and his confederate, bore an exclusive reference to temporal dominion. It was believed among the Jews, that, at the coming of the Messiah, their favoured nation would possess itself of all the riches, and of every goodly heritage, which had for a time been indulged to unbelievers. In this triumphant hope, confident that their day of empire was at hand, they abandoned their habits of industry, and

^f On publicoit même, &c. Rocoles, Imposteurs Insignes, p. 503. Amst. 1683. 12mo.

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their

their pursuits of commerce, and waited with breathless expectation for the hour of conquest. Even when their darling prophet was imprisoned at Constantinople by that despotic sovereign whom he had undertaken to dethrone, they still listened fondly to the promises of a future recovery of Palestine; and scarcely recovered from their delusion, when they saw him in whom they had trusted abjure the character which he had assumed, and embrace the Ottoman faith ^s.

Such would have been the attempt of Jesus, had Jesus been an impostor; such the enthusiasm and credulity which he might have moulded to his will. The pretension likewise to the dignity of Messiah was included in that most successful instance of religious imposture, united with, and made subservient to temporal purposes, which is to be found in the history of Mahometism ^h. And the contrast between the shifting artifices, joined with the consummate address, the systematic dissimulation, and interested views of the founder of that religion on one side, and on the other side, the simple,

^s Rocolles, *Imposteurs Insignes*, p. 523, 5. 533, 4. Bafnage, VII. xxiii. 5, &c. See Appendix IV.

^h Jortin's Remarks, ii. 186.

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the artless, the unassuming character of Christ, who never resorted to the temporary expedients of selfish policy, who was great, indeed, in the demonstration of spirit and of power, but who was great without presumption, and never less powerful in reality than imposing in appearance, has been already drawn with a precision which infidelity cannot controvert, and an eloquence which it would be vain to rival¹.

This place, and the particular occasion on which we are now assembled, must forcibly recal to the minds of those who hear me the celebrated discourses to which I allude ; and I must be anticipated in observing, that a new attempt to illustrate the same contrast would be rash rather than bold, for it would be necessarily fruitless. Without dwelling therefore any longer on the history of false religions, I shall hasten to notice some of the chief corruptions of Christianity itself ; and, from the observations which may be thence suggested, to deduce the reality and explain the nature of that distinction, which has been asserted to exist between enlarged and partial wisdom, between those indirect compliances

¹ In the Bampton Lectures for 1784.

which solely respect present interests, and that consistent policy which is suited to attain permanent success. Yet, previously to entering on these details, it will be necessary to pause; for the purpose of guarding the argument against objections; of defending real Christianity from the charge of having ever sanctioned that mistaken though artful policy which has been reprobated. This will be the object of my next discourse.

Before I conclude, however, for the present, it may be proper to examine the validity of two suppositions respecting the author of our religion, to which, though they include the charge of imposture, yet observations tending to vindicate his character from the charge of temporal ambition cannot be directly applied.

In the first place it may be said, that Christ voluntarily underwent misery and death, in order to leave behind him upon earth the reputation of sanctity. He may be said still to have enjoyed the secret satisfaction of reflecting, that, though he lived despised, and was likely to die disgraced, yet future ages would reverse the judgment of his contemporaries, and that his renown would never die.

It must be confessed, that no traces of such a spirit are to be found in the history of Jesus Christ.

Christ. Such an hypothesis seems devised to remove a pressing difficulty, without any warrant from the circumstances of the case. So far as history goes, the author and first preachers of Christianity appear to have lived not for themselves, but for others. No earthly motive but the good of mankind is discernible in the character of their labours.

The love of fame, it must be allowed, as well as the desire of riches, power, or pleasure, has sometimes prompted individuals to undertakings almost more than human. Sometimes too the spirit of a leader has been communicated by a resistless impulse to his followers; has encouraged them to move with the same alacrity, and to combat equal dangers. Often has the fervour of attachment supported the most appalling terrors, and advanced with daring step towards an object which it never could attain, or which, if attainable, bore but a small proportion to the toil, the difficulty, and the distress, by which it was to be purchased.

Nevertheless, it is not to be forgotten, that passive firmness is a much nobler instance of heroism than active valour. The necessity of exertion allows the mind no time for silent disquietude, or for brooding anxiously upon

itself. Gigantic effort is far more common than calm and long-continued perseverance, and the acclamations of martial glory are an encouragement far more captivating than the silent self-congratulations of successful fraud.

The natural, the obvious road to posthumous fame is that, unquestionably, which conducts to present greatness. We perceive, in the age in which we live, that the renunciation of temporal interests, which was submitted to by Christ, is a striking evidence of his truth. In the age of Christ there had existed no experience from which the conclusion, which we are now competent to make, could possibly be inferred. The character therefore which Christ assumed, though wisely adapted to the end that he proposed, was of a wisdom which an impostor could not have possessed. The authors of existing religions had been kings and princes. To be invested with the sacerdotal office was a temporal dignity of high order. A poor and unassuming prophet had never yet been the introducer of a religion, which owed, in any degree, its ultimate greatness to the personal lowliness of its author. It may safely be asserted, that a general knowledge of human nature could not have authorized an impostor to predict, in the instance

stance of Christianity, the result of an unprecedented mode of conduct. It may be asserted, that there could be no grounds for him to collect that there existed any distinction between the craft which might facilitate the immediate establishment, and the wisdom which would ensure the eventual prevalence of his creed.

The other supposition that was alluded to is, that the author of Christianity, though conscious of deceit, was actuated by benevolence : influenced by pity for the religious ignorance in which the world was unhappily depressed, and by a disinterested desire to benefit mankind by the establishment of so pious and so salutary an imposture.

Yet the same means are requisite for the establishment of a benevolent, as for that of an interested imposition. The object designed may be different, but the method employed must be the same. The arguments already adduced, to prove that the policy of the Christian system is such as an impostor could not have understood, are neither diminished nor altered in their validity, however we vary our suppositions as to the secret motives of its author. However he might be incited to action, he could not have despised the facilities which

would have been offered to the accomplishment of his purpose, by making a politic use of existing superstitions, and ingrafting upon the new institution many of their captivating, and what would be deemed innocent formalities. The comparative excellence of Christianity is not confined to its freedom from idolatry. Not only is the conduct of Christ unviolated by the admission of this gross error, but is also characterized throughout by the strict maintenance of a refined and unexampled purity. He not only made no compromise with false gods, but was the first who taught mankind a spiritual worship of the one Almighty Father. To have adopted as essential parts of the religion many of the ritual ceremonies, as the burning of incense, and the consecration of votive offerings, which were already practised in the Jewish and heathen temples, while it avoided the imputation of idolatry, might still, perhaps, have conciliated public approbation. Except in the instance of Christianity, the founders of all religions have considered rites and ceremonies as operating strongly on the minds of the people; not merely as useful to regulate the exercises or assist the influence of devotion, but as holy and indispensable in themselves. By
their

their experience only the author of a new religion could possibly be guided. Their example, the examples of Osiris, of Zoroaster, of Minos, of Lycurgus, and of Numa ; and, in this respect, we may add, though without including that venerable prophet in the class of those who have falsely assumed a divine sanction, the example also of Moses had succeeded so well, that a man who chose the object which they pursued, would have thought it prudent, in this instance, to follow, implicitly, their steps.

Since then the character of wisdom which appears in Christianity is too refined for an impostor to have possessed : since in this case, as was seen on a former occasion, it is equally or still more inconsistent with the supposition of enthusiasm ; the consequence is manifest. Christ laid claim, undoubtedly, to a divine commission ; and, every supposition of falsity being excluded, he was what he claimed to be, a teacher sent from God.

SERMON III.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

IT may possibly be argued, that the existence of an unaccommodating spirit in Christianity has, in the preceding lectures, been somewhat too generally asserted. It may be said, that its author and his disciples do seem in some respects to have been guided by a temporary policy. It may be thought, that I have endeavoured to prove too much: that the characters which I have held to be exclusively applicable to false religions may belong also to Christianity itself: that, consequently, I have been labouring to establish a criterion, either imperfect, by which false religions are not in reality to be distinguished from the true; or by which the religion that we suppose true ought justly to be condemned together with the false. Some persons, also, who may think that

that Christianity is sufficiently distinguished from confessedly false religions by the criterion which I have ventured to propose, may still doubt whether its admission would not tend to invalidate the truth of Judaism. Since, therefore, the truth of the Jewish is recognized by the Christian system, it must be necessary for me to prove of both these systems, that they are not liable to the imputations, to which it has been shown that false religions are obnoxious. It is requisite, however, in the first place, to examine the nature of the position to be proved; the extent to which it is necessary that Judaism and Christianity should be thus vindicated.

Now it is evident, that every degree of compliance with temporary interests and existing institutions is not exposed to the objections which may be justly raised against such compliance, for the sake of present or partial advantage, as is productive of eventual injury to the cause which it is intended to promote. Wherever particular and general consequences are at variance, we may expect in the counsels of the divine Being that wise adaptation to circumstances, which may best tend to promote the general rather than the particular result. The very same principle, however, should

should lead us to affirm, rather than to deny, that a similar adaptation even to particular interests and circumstances may analogously be expected, whenever the particular and general interests are compatible with each other.

Religion is intended not for perfect beings, but for weak and fallible men. As the work of a wise God, it must be suited, therefore, to human imperfection. The Jewish institution was addressed to an age and nation probably inferior in moral powers, and certainly in enlightened intellect, to those to which Christianity is proposed. It bears undoubted marks of a more extensive indulgence to the passions; it appeals less forcibly to the reason of mankind^a. Its lustrations, its sacrifices, and its pomp were, doubtless, accommodations to the weakness of human nature^b. So, also, in a less degree, may be the positive institutions of Christianity^c. These accommodations to

^a Hey's Lectures, vol. i. p. 336.

^b Limborch. p. 316. Sed ait vir doctissimus, &c. See also *Lettres de quelques Juifs, Portugais, Allemands, et Polonois, à M. de Voltaire*, vol. i. Lettre II. §. 9. Paris, 1776.

^c On the necessity of certain accommodations to human weakness, and the abuse of such accommodations in the Romish Church, see a note of Maclaine; Mosheim, vol. i. p. 203. 4to. (g).

human

human weakness may vary with the varying circumstances of mankind, and it may be impossible to determine with precision the bounds of their propriety, while, differing only in degree, they are the same in kind. Yet one distinction, at least, is obvious and indubitable. The true God can never have authorized any of his ministers to countenance idolatry. On this ground the question may most fairly be brought to issue: on this ground rests the main argument, by which it is here endeavoured to confirm the evidence of our religion. If a concurrence in idolatry can justly be imputed either to Judaism or Christianity, we may be grieved to relinquish our only hope of religious consolation, but we must be compelled to abandon their defence; for unless the legitimacy of this inference be allowed, it must be impossible to determine that any religion can be false, and, consequently, that any can be true. If, on the contrary, the teachers of religions confessedly false, or of Christianity itself, either grossly misunderstood, or wilfully violated, have uniformly or generally admitted compliances with idolatry, while the true religion of Moses or of Christ is not implicated in the charge; if all the partial interests of man shall appear to be consulted
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by such compliances, while the counsels of the Deity are distinguished no less by their purity than their wisdom, we contend, that this distinction in the case of these two religions is, in proportion to the degree and circumstances of its existence, an important presumption, or perhaps a certain argument of their truth.

I do not mean, however, unreservedly to pronounce, that the internal evidence of a religion is solely to be determined by the absence or the admission of idolatry. It has been observed on a former occasion, that there are some excesses of superstition, of which it may safely be asserted, that, though they be not absolutely idolatrous, they are too gross to have received the sanction of the divinity. Such excesses, wherever they can be proved to exist, must destroy, equally with idolatry itself, the credit of the religion by which they are avowed. If they are to be found in Christianity, Christianity must be incapable of defence. This admission, however, of arguments from the extreme instances of superstition extends not to those particular accommodations to particular circumstances, the inconsistency of which with the divine attributes is merely doubtful. Though we cannot conclude, that,

because

because the nature of superstition is incapable of a precise definition, its existence can nowhere be asserted with certainty ; yet we still conclude from the same premises, that usages may exist, of which it is impossible to determine precisely, whether or no they be superstitious. While it is necessary, therefore, to defend both Judaism and Christianity from the charge even of the slightest deviation into idolatry, it is not essential to the evidence of their truth, that every difficulty should be surmounted, with which their defence against the charge of superstition may possibly be attended. Superstition, when excessive, is a decisive argument against the truth of any religion by which it is sanctioned ; but we are ignorant of its exact nature ; and not certain, perhaps, that all degrees of it are proscribed by God, even in those dispensations of which he is himself the author.

These observations, I trust, prove, that some compliances with particular circumstances may, even in a teacher of religion, be compatible with truth. They prove, also, the irrelevancy of those invectives against superstition in general, which are frequently, though most unphilosophically, indulged, without any precise conception of the object against which they

they are directed. I now proceed to show, first, that the Jewish, and, secondly, that the Christian systems are not liable to the charge of any idolatrous or objectionable compliances; that they cannot be proved to have sacrificed the truth of natural religion for any purposes of present utility; that they have not abandoned the policy of wisdom for that of craft.

By some persons of learning it has been supposed, that the Jewish religion, though of divine authority, was partly founded on Egyptian rites and ceremonies; that Egyptian superstitions were to a certain degree permitted by Moses to the Israelites, because of the hardness of their hearts; and that, probably, without this accommodation to their previous habits, it might have been impossible to secure their attachment to the new religion ^d.

^d Burnet. Arch. pp. 46, 47. Middleton's Letter to Dr. Waterland, Tracts, p. 156, 157. Beaufobre, Introd. to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, Part I. §. 1. and Spencer de Leg. Hebr. passim. The arguments of the very learned writer last mentioned, for the propriety of tolerating and adopting Egyptian superstitions in the Mosaic ritual, are some of them of a singular nature. He cites in one place the political axiom, Το κακόν ου καίμενον ουκ εστὶ κινητέον, p. 627, 628. ed. Cant. 1685. and declares, p. 631. In eo enim eluxit sapientia divina, quod antidotum e veneno faceret, et illis ipsis cæremoniis ad populi
F sui

As it would seem, however, to be improbable that God, in separating to himself a peculiar people, who should preserve the purity of his worship amid the gross idolatry of surrounding Gentiles, should adopt from the idolatry of those very Gentiles the positive institutions of his own religion; so it has been shown, by those who have been most conversant in the history of oriental ceremonies, that the Jewish ritual was in fact instituted, not in conformity with, but in direct opposition to the idolatries of Egypt^e.

Should it seem to us that the adoption of a ceremonial for the purpose of counteracting idolatry; that the opposition of rite to rite, and of custom to custom, was a policy of less refinement than the Deity might have been expected to pursue; we may recur to what has been before advanced, that the conduct, which may be observed in the divine dispensations, is wisely adapted not only to the purity of God, but also to the infirmity of man. God speaks to man through the medium of the senses: religion is intended to operate not

fui utilitatem, quibus olim Diabolus ad hominum perniciem uteretur.

* See Appendix V.

only

only on the understanding, but also on the heart. No man, probably, however pure, however unprejudiced his reason, is superior to the feeling of devotion. Those persons who, by the theories of scepticism, may think themselves fortified against superstition; and those also who may have weaned themselves from popular grossness of conception by long and rational meditation on the God of truth, continue always, in some degree, subject to the influence of that religious sentiment, which certain impressions on the senses tend manifestly to create or strengthen. The powers of intellect alone are insufficient for the necessities of man. Religion, to console him in adversity, to preserve him in temptation, and to correct the insolence of prosperity, must influence the heart through the senses, as well as the judgment through the understanding. It is not, therefore, the introduction of ritual observances into religion that is objectionable. "Why should weak minds be deprived of a resource which is found necessary to the strongest?" Observances of this kind are expedient, or, perhaps, indispensable, though they have their bounds, which they ought not

f Burke.

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to

to exceed. It may be difficult to establish an exact criterion by which to estimate them, but this very difficulty should render us cautious in our reasonings and decisions on their propriety.

Merely then to have revealed the doctrine of the unity to the Jews, without employing subsidiary, and, it may be said, mechanical methods for preserving and strengthening the conviction of its truth, might have exposed them, in an imprudent degree, to the danger of relapsing into idolatry. It is apparent from their history, that they were not entirely secured from such relapse even by their own multitudinous ceremonial. Rites less numerous or less striking might have been exceedingly inadequate to a purpose, which those that really were enacted did not always effectually answer. From the imputation of idolatry, however, these rites were entirely removed. A rite may, indeed, convey an idolatrous meaning, but only as connected incidentally with some false object of adoration. The Jews had incense, they had perfumes, they had sacrifices and oblations. All these things are capable, indeed, of an idolatrous application, and were applied by the heathens to the adoration of false gods ; but while offered

ferred solely to the true God, they could not interfere with singleness of worship. The Jews had no similitudes of man or beast or fourfooted things; no saints or secondary deities were interposed between them and the great Jehovah &c.

Should these considerations appear insufficient to reconcile the apparent imperfection of the Jewish ceremonial with the purity of its divine author, it may be reflected farther, that living in an age in which the art of reasoning is better understood, and exercised more accurately, we are not competent, from reflection on the structure of our own minds, to determine the propriety of any adaptation to the minds and motives of a people less cultivated than ourselves. We are incompetent judges, likewise, of the very meaning of the ceremonies which we question. They were

* The Papist represents the putting off the shoes, "because it was holy ground," which is related of Moses and Joshua; the falling down of the Jews before God's footstool, and their worship in the holy of holies, where were the cherubims, propitiatory, and ark; the bowing of Protestants at the name of Jesus, and their kneeling at the Eucharist, and before the altar, as being ceremonies of the same nature with the honorary adoration of saints, which is authorized by the Church of Rome. These ceremonies, however, are vindicated by Stillington, "Of the

intended, probably, in many cases, in which they are the least easy to be explained, not so much for offices of worship, as for a method of instruction^b. Much gesticulation is always to be observed among people who possess not a copious language, and is necessary, perhaps, to determine the meaning of such words as bear numerous significations. At the period of the Mosaic dispensation, written language was doubtless in its infancy: the language which was spoken must, consequently, have been imperfect, as we know, indeed, to have been the case with the more ancient dialects of the Eastⁱ. What may be denominated the language of action must therefore have borne a considerable share in the general converse of mankind, particularly in those warmer climates, where the manners as well as the feelings are more impassioned, than they, who

“the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome,” Works, vol. v. p. 40, 41.

^b *Lettres de quelques Juifs*, P. III, l. vi. §. 1.

ⁱ Powell's ninth Discourse, in the beginning. Hey's Lectures, vol. i. p. 16, 17. “We should also observe how actions were used in the East instead of words; and were expressive not only of the present, but also of the future.” Ibid. p. 80. See also Warburton, Div. Leg. book iv. §. 4. Works, vol. ii. p. 405, &c. and book ix. Works, vol. iii. p. 659.

have

have no intercourse but with the inhabitants of northern Europe, can easily conceive. Even at this comparatively late period in the history of man; even since the powers of language have been so far developed, that there is scarcely any meaning which the understanding can apprehend, but what oral expression may communicate, or written characters denote; even now, the language of action is often used, and easily understood. To the Jews there may have been an especial propriety and meaning in proposing a visible religion. Their habits had probably enabled them to apprehend the meaning intended to be conveyed by ritual ordinances with an accuracy and quickness which we cannot possibly possess. The eye is in itself a medium of knowledge not less unexceptionable than the ear; and the types set before the Jews, not as objects of adoration, but as means of knowledge, may have been as little liable to misconstruction as the audible recitation of the decalogue. The language of ceremonies may have had no remote affinity to the language of hieroglyphics. The Egyptian education of the Jews may have facilitated their knowledge of its import, while that import, however it was

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expressed,

expressed, might oppose the idolatry of Egypt^k.

Instances can be produced, in which a certain meaning, that may easily be enunciated in words, was doubtless intended to be conveyed by this typical or ceremonial language. The ablutions of the Mosaic law were indicative of the command to observe inward purity; and must have communicated this meaning to the apprehension of the Jews at the period of its delivery, with a more lively connection between the type and the thing signified, than we should recognize at present, were not the same symbol rendered familiar to us by the similar Christian institution of baptism. The white vestments of the priests were interpreted to denote that spotless sincerity with which the worshipper should approach the temple of his God. The burning

^k Warburton, Div. Leg. b. iv. §. 6. contends with his usual acuteness, that "the laws in compliance" (with Egyptian ceremonies of innocent tendency) "were a consequence of the laws in opposition" (to those of an idolatrous nature), and proceeds to discuss at length the respective opinions of Spencer and Witsius. Works, vol. ii. p. 602. See *Lettres de quelques Juifs*, Part. II. Lettre ii. §. 8. p. 212. Les autres, &c.

of incense was to the Jews, no doubt, the immediate symbol of acceptable prayer¹.

The sprinkling of blood upon the unclean, and of the water of separation^m, which we now, interpreting by the event, suppose to have had a general reference to the future bloodshedding and mediation of the Saviour, might be adapted to excite a more definite expectation in those for whom they were appointed, than the same dark ceremonies would convey to us. In short, a ritual language was accommodated to the Jews with a propriety which may have rendered edifying and impressive to them those passages of their ceremonial law, which to us seem inexplicable or superstitious.

The reasonableness of resorting to such an interpretation of the Jewish rites may be inferred from the similar adaptation of parabolical and visual elucidations to the disclosure of other facts unconnected with religious worship. The exaltation of Joseph above his family is intimated by his sheaf standing upright, and the eleven sheaves of his brethren

¹ Beaufobre and L'Enfant, Introd. to the Reading of the Holy Scriptures. "Of the Holy Things," and "Of Perfumes."

^m Numbers xix.

standing

standing round and bowing to it. Thus the image of the lion is employed to represent the regal characteristic of the tribe of Judah, while the crafty Dan is typified by the similitude of a serpent lurking in the road ⁿ.

The ceremonial, therefore, of the Mosaic law is not justly liable to the slightest imputation of idolatry. It may have been comparatively imperfect, yet still worthy of the Deity: it may be partially inexplicable, yet wisely adapted to the circumstances of the Jews; intended to resist the customs or to oppose the doctrines of idolatry by language or by rites, expressive of the unity of God, and, like all religion, addressed to popular understandings^o.

In the interval between the institution of the Jewish, and that of the Christian religion, very considerable changes took place in the circumstances of mankind. Natural theology, or the speculative investigation of religious truth, seems to be of comparatively recent origin, and not to have been known any where till long after the time of Moses. The Persian Magi, and the philosophers, as they are called,

ⁿ All these instances of relation between the type and the object signified by it are taken from Dr. J. Taylor's Scheme of Scripture Divinity, chap. 28.

^o See Appendix VI.

of Phenicia and Arabia, seem to have bounded their inquiries to the study of traditionary opinions. Of these they selected what they thought the most probable or pleasing, but they did not attempt to reason upon the Deity or the creation from the frame and phænomena of the universe P. The Jews, more fortunate than the other nations of the East from their possession of the Mosaic writings, had preserved their implicit reverence for and exclusive reliance upon authority with, perhaps, still greater constancy. Yet there are reasons for believing, that, at the time of the origin of Christianity, the cultivation of the reasoning faculties, even in Judea itself, had been commenced: it is certain that in Greece and Italy it had been long and vigorously pursued. During modern ages it has been revived with an unprecedented success; and, both in its commencement and its progress, has always tended to promote a pure and accurate conception of the Deity.

It is, however, to all countries, and to modern as well as to ancient times, that Christianity is addressed. If Christians, then, in general, possess clearer notions of God's truth

P Burnet. Arch. p. 55.

and

and purity than the Jews possessed, it may naturally be inferred that a greater purity of worship is expected from them. But man, even now, is far too imperfect to be able to render to his Creator a worship strictly pure, a homage genuine and without alloy. There is no doubt but that Christianity itself is accommodated to the manifold infirmities of our nature. If a certain degree of imperfection was permitted among the Jews, it is probable that a less degree may be tolerated among Christians; and plausible reasons may be assigned for the appointment of usages, which, though they do not constitute, are useful to promote the spirit of religion¹. Not only the knowledge of the Deity, before existing among the disciples of Moses, was to be retained and purified under the Christian system, but also their ceremonial attachments and local sanctities were to be compensated. The mere revelation of theoretical theology and of a future state might have proved inadequate to the necessities of mankind. The knowledge, which may be sufficient to determine the judgment, is not always able to influence the will; and

¹ See Bishop Butler's Charge to the Clergy of Durham in 1751, p. 394, &c. Halifax's ed. of the Analogy, 1802.

it is manifest, that the object of religion is not answered, unless motives to virtue be added to principles of truth.

They, however, who may have been induced to admit the purity of the Jewish, are not likely to object to the original blamelessness of the Christian church. Yet it may not be superfluous to indulge on this subject in some particular reflections.

Now the positive ordinances of our Lord, though they have been corrupted in the most flagrant manner by Romish superstition, exhibit not, in themselves, the remotest semblance of an idolatrous institution. To the command which was enjoined to his disciples at the solemn passover which preceded the crucifixion, "Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you," it might have been supposed that the latter part of the same sentence, "Do this in remembrance of me," would have attached so definite a meaning as entirely to preclude the adoration of the sacramental elements.

Certain obscure charges of dissimulation against the holy founder of our religion, which it has been pretended that the history of the canonical evangelists will supply, are too absurd, and, if the question were less important

ant, would be too ludicrous to need refutation^r. Of these I trust that I may be permitted to omit farther mention. The toleration of Judaism has furnished a more considerable objection against the uniform purity of the first Christian teachers ; an objection certainly not the less worthy of attention, because it has been borrowed by the Deist from the Jew. It has been said, that, if Christianity were intended to supersede Judaism, its author was guilty of an inconsistent conduct in complying with the forms of a religion which he came to abrogate : that it was irrational for any person to continue an adherence to the figure, who believed that the body signified by it was come : that it was either gross hypocrisy, or an impious mockery of things which had been once most sacred, for those to practise the usages of the Mosaic law, who considered them to be vain and useless : that they who considered them to be efficacious, could not really believe in Christianity, since in such belief the conviction was necessarily included,

^r One of the principal of these charges is the *disimulation* of Christ at Emmaus. “ And he made as though he “ would have gone further.” Luke xxiv. 28. Middleton’s Tracts, p. 306.

that

that the Mosaic dispensation was accomplished and fulfilled by Christ ^s.

Animadversions, also, on the conduct of the Apostles in this respect have been made by Christians themselves with a freedom which has not always been confined within the limits of decency and respect ^t. Yet the ardent expression of St. Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, “ that he was made all things to “ all men, that he might by all means save “ some ^u,” can in no way indicate that the zeal which it testifies transgressed the bounds of knowledge. The separation of St. Peter from the communion of the Gentiles, because he feared them which were of the circumcision ^x, on which account he was withstood by Paul at Antioch; the circumcision of Timothy ^y; and the purification according to the rites of the Jewish religion, which was observed at Jerusalem by St. Paul himself after his return from Macedonia ^z, seem to be the

^s Orobio, *Amica Collatio*, p. 60, 61. and Limborch's Reply, p. 203.

^t Confessional, third ed. p. 383, 384.

^u 1 Cor. ix. 22. Middleton, *ubi supra*.

^x Gal. ii. 12.

^y Acts xvi. 3.

^z Acts xxi. 26.

grounds

grounds on which this charge of indirect compliances in the Apostles has principally been founded. It has, however, been satisfactorily proved, that the mother of Timothy being a Jewess, he was considered by the Jews as bound by the condition of his birth to keep the law ^a; and these united facts, as illustrated by the whole tenour of the apostolical history, can only warrant the conclusion, that the apostles permitted the Jews to continue their adherence to the Mosaic law under the profes-

^a Wetstein on Acts xvi. 1—13. “Partus sequitur ventrem,” &c.

“Non enim, ut nonnulli putant, ex eadem simulatione etiam Paulus apostolus aut Timotheum circumcidit, aut ipse quædam ritu Judaico sacramenta celebravit: sed ex illa libertate sententiæ suæ, qua prædicavit nec gentibus prodesse circumcisionem, nec Judæis obesse. Ideoque et Timotheus, cum in præputio vocatus esset, tamen quia de Judæa matre ortus erat, et ostendere cognatis suis debebat ad eos lucrificandos, non hoc se didicisse in disciplina Christiana, ut illa sacramenta quæ legis veteris essent abominaretur, circumciscus est ab Apostolo: ut hoc modo demonstrarent Judæis, non ideo gentes non ea fuscipere, quia mala sunt, et perniciose a patribus observata, sed quia jam salutis non necessaria post adventum tanti sacramenti, quod per tam longa tempora tota vetus illa scriptura prophetis figuratibus prædicavit.” Augustinus, de Mendacio, cap. 8. See Grotius on the ninth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, ver. 19—22.

tion

sion of Christianity, as they also themselves adhered to it, after the example which had been set by Christ. They retained, no doubt, in part, a national veneration for its sanctity; and, even after they became fully enlightened respecting the principles of Christianity, they were still desirous to consult, in this respect, the prejudices of the Jews, by a conformity, not, in their own apprehension, in any degree meritorious, but indifferent.

Now it is injudicious, as well as unnecessary, to claim for every part of the conduct of the apostles the praise of an exact propriety. It is not to be contended, that they always acted under the influence of a continued inspiration. For Christ alone seems to have been reserved by the divine appointment the prerogative of an unerring judgment, equally as of a sinless life. If Paul withstood Peter to the face, either Peter must have been incorrect, or Paul mistaken. The precise limits of a lawful accommodation to Jewish principles and opinions it may be impossible correctly to define; and where the apostles differed, the most adventurous theologian of modern times can scarcely venture to decide.

Unquestionably however, if Judaism have been shown not to countenance either idolatry
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or gross superstition, Christianity cannot justly be liable to the charge, merely because it recognizes the truth, and tolerates the ceremonies of that religion. Nor is it a fair presumption, that, because the Christian was intended to supersede the Jewish system, the teachers of Christianity were bound to eradicate every fibre of their old attachments, before they could admit the Jews to be sincere professors of the faith. It may have been intended, that not the preaching, nor even the death of the Redeemer, but rather the destruction of Jerusalem^b, by which so many and such important prophecies were fulfilled, should be the signal for the extinction of the Mosaic dispensation^c. The rending of the

^b Limborch. 203.

^c It may be worthy of observation, that the first fifteen Christian bishops of Jerusalem, respecting whom it has been noticed that they were circumcised Jews, (Gibbon, chap. xv. p. 544.) all lived before the final destruction of that city by Hadrian. "Ita tum primum Marcus ex gentibus, apud Hierosolymam, episcopus fuit." Sulp. Sev. Sac. Hist. lib. ii. §. 45. See also on this subject the *Chronicon* of Eusebius on the eighth and nineteenth years of Hadrian. Joseph Scaliger, in his *Animadversiones* on the *Chronicon*, (p. 212, 216. ed. 1658.) questions the fact of this destruction of Jerusalem, and supposes the destruction by Titus to have been complete; but I am not convinced by his reasoning.

veil

veil may have prefaged, the demolition of the temple may have completed its final period, and the same providence, which ordained the gradual progress of the faith, may have ordained, among the Jewish converts, a gradual emancipation from national and local prejudices^d. Imperfect knowledge is not inconsistent with the possession of a saving faith. The moving supplication which was made to Jesus, "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief," may reasonably be addressed to the divine being by the imperfect faculties of mankind.

Thus the Jewish and the Christian religions are equally removed from the imputation of idolatry. It is the superior excellence of the latter, that it may justly boast, not the worship of a purer being, but a purer mode of wor-

^d "Nec a Judæis exacta suæ legis abdicatione, nec a Gentibus fide plena et omnibus numeris absoluta." Burnet. de Fide, p. 117. "Nec Apostoli unquam docuerunt, ne ipse apostolus Paulus, tantus libertatis Christianæ patronus, illicitum esse fidelibus ex Judæis Moisaicæ legis ritus observare. Quinetiam ipse Timotheum" &c. Limborch. p. 24. See also Hartley's Obs. on Man, II. p. 377. first ed. The very comprehensive reasoner last referred to does not seem, however, to have thoroughly considered the whole of this delicate subject.

ship. The rites of the Mosaic law had no connection with false deities, but still may have absorbed a considerable degree of that attention and respect, which we are taught by Christianity to devote to God in spirit and in truth. The breach of the ceremonial was in many instances more severely punished among the Jews than the violation of the moral law^c, while the positive institutions of Christianity are universally subservient to the essential spirit of religion.

Eminent also as is the character of the Jewish lawgiver, both for public virtue and personal disinterestedness, the character of Christ is too superior to require or admit comparison. The zeal of Moses was national; the benevolence of Christ is universal: Moses was the deliverer of Israel, but Christ the saviour of mankind. The presumptions likewise, by which the founders of both religions may be vindicated from any sinister imputation, are far more numerous and striking in the history of Christ, than in that of Moses. The Jewish worship was completely united with the civil constitution of the Jews. Could Moses and Aaron be supposed impostors, their conduct, the one

^c Orobio, p. 11.

assuming

assuming the temporal, and the other the spiritual supremacy in the state, might seem naturally to proceed from the common principles of ambition ^f. Christ, to speak with precision, is no legislator ^g. Real Christianity may consist with any form of civil polity whatever. It interferes not, nor did it interfere at its first origin, either to weaken or confirm the authority of existing magistracies, unless by the indirect operation of its moral and religious doctrines. As soon as a certain establishment became necessary to its propagation, an establishment was formed for the sake of the religion : it is manifest that the religion was not devised with reference to the establishment ^h.

These observations, I trust, cannot be so far misinterpreted, as to be suspected of the re-

^f Lardner, Works, vol. x. p. 541, 542.

^g "He expressly declined the exercise of all temporal authority upon another occasion; 'Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?' Luke xii. 14. But he readily availed himself of the application as a religious and moral instructor." Maltby, p. 83. note c.

^h That the *liberty* of the Christian religion would never have been devised by an impostor, may be argued from the advice of Mæcenas to Augustus, that he should allow of no religious toleration : *ἀπερ ἤκιστα μοναρχία συμφέρει*. Dion. Cassius. Warburton, Div. Leg. Works, vol. i. p. 450.

most tendency to depreciate the evidence of Judaism. It is, indeed, undoubtedly their intent to show, that Judaism in its internal evidence is far surpassed by Christianity; but this difference between Moses and Christ in the strength of some presumptions, by which the truth of their respective missions is to be determined, may have been compensated, in the whole, or in part, by evidence of another kind. The miracles of Christ, particularly his resurrection, were manifested not to all the people, but to chosen witnesses; while the law of Moses was declared in thunder from Mount Sinai to the whole nation of the Jews. The truth of the Mosaic institution was thus impressed sensibly on the Israelites; while it was expected, that the truth of the Christian religion should be inferred from reasoning principles, by the great majority of those to whom it was addressed. By comparing the ceremonial of the Jews with the simple rites of Christianity, an analogous difference may be traced in the internal evidence of the two religions, as presented to subsequent inquirers; and the observation may be thus confirmed, that either dispensation was wisely adapted to the circumstances in which it was promulged. From the superiority, however, of Christianity to Judaism,

daism, or from the fact that the founders of the more perfect recognized the truth, and, to a certain degree, adhered to the forms of the more imperfect system, no conclusion can be derived inconsistent with the general principle of these discourses. The principle originally laid down was this: that, while it is characteristic of the authors of false religions to sacrifice for temporary interests the means of lasting success, the religion of Christ is distinguished by unexceptionable wisdom; that its adaptation to the nature and motives of mankind is in no instance violated by that selfish craft, which, though useful for a time, is always ultimately prejudicial.

We now have disposed of the objections which seemed likely to be made to the adoption of this criterion; we have seen, that the partial accommodation to circumstances, which has been admitted in the religions of Moses or of Christ, as taught by them originally, cannot be proved inconsistent with truth and real policy; that it is, therefore, sufficiently discriminated from those other accommodations which have been adduced from religions confessedly false. Consequently, the original position is disturbed by no exception which either Judaism or Christianity can supply.

SERMON IV.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

WE have seen that the wisdom conspicuous in the character of Christianity, and in the means by which it was first promoted, is unfilled by the admission of temporary artifice, or insincere policy. We have seen that the conduct of its author was altogether contrary to such conduct, as a person not acting under a divine commission would have been able to contrive, or willing to pursue; and that the history, both of heathen lawgivers, and of pretended Messiahs, illustrates and confirms the distinction which has been contended for between this religion, and those which, confessedly, are false.

It is now intended to contrast the religion originally taught by Christ with certain examples

ples of that corrupted Christianity, which has since been substituted in its place. The abuses which have been imposed upon mankind under the holy name of our Redeemer have, unhappily, been scarcely less flagrant than those of Paganism itself. But, though it must be painful to contemplate instances in which the venerated name of Jesus has been profaned by a mistaken zeal, or prostituted to worldly purposes, yet such an enquiry will not be without its use. We thus may learn to prove, that, though designing ecclesiastics have broken all laws both of moral and religious obligation, and though sincere believers have contributed to aggravate the corruptions of our faith, yet that its true character, and the history of Christ himself, afford not a colourable pretext to their impiety. Thus we may exhibit in a strong relief the injustice of that common error which imputes to Christianity the vices and failings of its ministers : we may procure an impartial consideration for its evidence, and acquire, as I conceive, an irrefragable presumption of its truth.

There is a known and manifest opposition in the apostolical writings to the incipient accommodation of Christian doctrines to Oriental

or

or Platonic theories ; and it is certain, therefore, that, even at the early period when the church was personally superintended by the first disciples of our Lord, the purity of the faith was contaminated by the seeds of superstition. The first corruptions of Christianity proceeded, in some cases, from the arrogant but common practice of interpreting religion by philosophical systems, and, in others, from a pious wish to elevate the opinion of its excellence. But I propose not to trace the history of error through the various gradations from its origin to its maturity. The limits, which I am unwilling that this part of my discourses should exceed, render it necessary that I should restrict myself to the notice of a few only among the more striking instances of that studied conformity to external circumstances which, throughout the whole progress of ecclesiastical corruptions, from their commencement to their consummation in the Papacy, has been indulged by Christian teachers.

It is to be remarked, then, that the heathen maxim, that deceit is justifiable in matters of religion, was adopted even by the most estimable of the fathers : by some during the
third,

third, and by many during the fourth and fifth centuries*. The sacraments of Baptism, and of the Eucharist, were taught to assume a likeness to the mysteries of Eleusis, and the

* Origen, Ambrose, Hilary, Augustin, Gregory Naz. Jerom, Chrysostom, &c. *Νες μεν εν φιλοσοφος εποπτης αν τ' αληθους συγχωρει τη χρεια τε ψευδεσθαι αναλογον γαρ εσι φως προς αληθειαν, και ομμα προς δημον. η εν οφθαλμος εις κακον αν απολαυσαιεν απληγς φωτος, και η τοις οφθαλμοις το σκοτος ωφελιματερον ταυτη και το ψευδος οφελος ειναι τιδεμαι δημα, και βλαβερν την αληθειαν τοις εκ ιχυοισιν ενατενισαι προς την των οντων ενεργειαν.* Synesius, Ep. cv. p. 249. Opp. Paris, 1631. See Mosheim de turbata per recentiores Platonicos ecclesia, cap. 46, 47. and Jortin's Remarks, ii. 275. and App. No. III.

To the references here made for the purpose of establishing a charge of error against the Christian fathers, I cannot but subjoin the intreaty that I may not be suspected of any disrespect for them in general. I am afraid that the very useful and learned work of Dr. Jortin, to which I have above referred, may perhaps have lessened the repute of these writers, in an age which certainly is not inclined to estimate them more highly than it ought. Their mistakes, no doubt, are gross and indefensible, as is fully shown in the Remarks on Ecclesiastical History: but there is too apparent, though, I question not, an undesigned tendency in that valuable work to encourage a contemptible opinion of men who cannot justly be despised. It is evident, however, that it is with their errors only, not their excellencies, that the argument of these lectures is concerned. See Hey's Lectures, i. 114. 117.

existence

existence was professed of a double doctrine, partly avowed, and public; and partly confined to the initiated few^b.

Nothing could be more allowable, or proper, than that the memory of departed saints and martyrs should be regarded with gratitude by Christians, particularly when the new religion had, at last, acquired the protection of the civil power, and the security which was thus obtained might be referred, and, in some degree, with justice, to their exertions, or constancy^c. During the persecutions of the first centuries, surviving friends had been accustomed to collect diligently the remains of persons eminent on account of their virtues, or their sufferings, for the purpose of a decent sepulture. As they cherished their memory, so they frequented their tombs to awaken feelings of pious association, to invigorate the sincerity or excite the sorrows of repentance. But the bounds of a just veneration for the deceased were now transgressed: their tutelary power was considered as locally present, or specially exerted at the repository of their relics^d: their dust was invested with an ideal sanctity,

^b See Appendix VII.

^c Jortin's Remarks, ii. p. 6—12.

^d Burnet on the Articles, p. 244. ed. fol. 1699.

and

and regarded as the most valuable of all possessions. Even at the commencement of the second century the bones of St. Ignatius had been conveyed from Rome to Antioch, by the zealous care of his disciples.* On the temporal establishment of Christianity, similar transportations were practised to a most inordinate excess. It was believed that the hidden remains even of the earliest martyrs were discovered in supernatural visions, and that miracles were performed by their instrumentality; while churches unconsecrated by their presence were scarcely deemed efficient to the purposes of religion†.

The natural consequence of this superstition was a transition from love to confidence, from veneration to worship. Prayers were, in the first place, offered to God, in behalf of the deceased saints, according to the notion of a double resurrection, that, on account of their

* Beaufobre, *Hist. de Manichéisme*, vol. ii. p. 642.

† “ Si le déluge n’avoit pas arrêté ces heureuses découvertes, le monde auroit eu des reliques d’Adam et d’Abel, et au moins quelque vêtement d’Enoch, comme on crut avoir le livre qui contenoit ses révélations et sa prédication.” Ibid. pp. 647, 648. See also pp. 646, 649, and 674. Many instances of similar translations are to be found in Paganism.

earthly

earthly merits, he would admit them to the enjoyment of beatitude before the day of final judgment. He was next implored, in consideration of the same merits, to accept their intercession for those who lingered still in life, engaged in combating adversity, or in resisting the allurements of pleasure. These prayers to God were next transferred even to the saints themselves. Offerings were made, and vows addressed, under the belief of their power and protection : and the monuments of their death became altars testifying the belief of their living intercession and agency in heaven^a.

The mode, in which this corruption was introduced into the pure religion of Christ, bears evident marks of an accommodation to particular circumstances. Here, as in other cases, mistaken piety may have dictated the first compliances^b. Persons, who reflected that the popular deities of mythology had been originally mere men, were indignant that the heroes of Christianity should be less regarded for passive

^a Theodoret. cited *ibid.* p. 667. Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Décadence de l'Empire Rom.* chap. 22.

^b Mosheim, vol. i. 4to. pp. 100, 101.

fortitude,

fortitude, than the gods or demigods of Paganism for brilliant achievements, or active valour. To avert so glaring an injustice, they adopted, in honour of martyrs, the precise ceremonies with which the heathen deities were worshipped¹. They professed, indeed, that the veneration thus testified was honorary, not religious. Yet, surely, no honorary explanation, though it continue still to be the apology of the Romanist², can justify the adoption of ceremonies, which, though they had been innocent in themselves, would have been rendered profane by their prior application. "That the tombs of martyrs should succeed
" to the place and estimation of Pagan shrines
" and temples³," was to recognize the practices,

¹ See Appendix VIII.

² The Papists declare that they give an inferior or relative honour only to the sacred images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints: "*adorationem non latrariam, sed honorariam.*" Cressy's Reply to Stillingfleet. Still. Works, v. 6.

³ "*Quod memorie martyrum nostrorum templis eorum delubrisque succederent.*" Aug. de Civ. Dei, viii. 26. While the Christian martyrs succeeded to the honours of the Pagan gods; the Christian emperors seem also to have acquired those of their Heathen predecessors. "The Pope crowned him (Charlemagne) and anointed him
" with holy oil, and worshipped him on his knees after
" the

though it avoided the name of Polytheism. Whatever meaning was intended, whatever devotion was expressed, among the heathen, by the burning of candles, by the apposition of wine, or by prostration at the thresholds of their temples, were retained by the same ceremonies, when used at the tombs of saints. Where Pagans considered them as religious, they would not long be regarded by Christians as merely honorary: the creatures to whom they were paid would naturally obtain the homage due to the Creator alone; would, through the natural weakness of mankind, be soon invoked as the efficient cause, where they had been at first contemplated as the means only, or instruments of success.

The superstition, or rather the idolatry, which thus began by a partial accommodation, was at length completed by an entire conformity to the rites of Polytheism. Not

“ the manner of adoring the old Roman emperors; as the
 “ afore said poet (Anon. published by Boeclerus) thus
 “ relates :

“ Post laudes igitur dictas, et summus eundem

“ Præful adoravit : sicut mos debitus olim

“ Principibus fuit antiquis.”

Sir I. Newton, Obs. on Daniel. chap. vii. 12.

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only

only the miracles of Christ^m, but also the fabulous prodigies of heathenism were in numberless instances adopted into the legends of saintsⁿ. Pictures and statues were introduced

^m “Erat quidam senex Florentius Hipponensis noster,
 “homo religiosus et pauper, sartoris se arte pascebat, ca-
 “fulam perdiderat, et unde sibi emeret non habebat: ad
 “20 martyres, quorum Memoria apud nos est celeberrima,
 “clara voce ut vestiretur oravit. Audierunt eum
 “adolescentes, qui forte aderant irrisores; eumque disce-
 “dentem exagitantem prosequerentur; quasi a martyribus
 “quingentos folles, unde vestimentum emeret petivisset.
 “At ille tacitus ambulans, ejectum grandem piscem pal-
 “pitantem vidit in litore, eumque illis faventibus atque
 “adjuvantibus apprehendit, et cuidam coquo Catofo no-
 “mine bene Christiano ad coquinam conditariam, indi-
 “cans quid gestum sit, trecentis follibus vendidit, lanam
 “comparare inde disponens, ut uxor ejus quomodo posset,
 “ei quo indueretur efficeret. Sed coquus concidens pis-
 “cem, anulum aureum in ventriculo ejus invenit, mox-
 “que miseratione flexus, et religione perterritus, homini
 “eum reddidit, dicens, Ecce quomodo 20 martyres te
 “vestierunt.” Aug. de Civ. Dei, xxii. 8.

ⁿ Jortin's Remarks, ii. 304. See also Stillingfleet's Vindication of Protestant Grounds of Faith, chap. 3. and Hey's Lectures, vol. i. p. 13. and pp. 135, 136. “Had
 “these persons (the Evangelists) invented, we may see
 “what they would have written by their being desirous
 “to call down fire from heaven; by their ambition to be
 “greatest in the kingdom of Christ. It seems
 “undeniable that if the Evangelists had invented the ac-
 “counts

into the church, that the charge of atheism might be refuted which the first Christians had incurred by their strict adherence to the spiritual worship of one God. New adaptations also were made to Paganism, long after the pretence of their being necessary to conciliate Pagans to Christianity had ceased to operate, whether intended to gratify the devotion of the vulgar, or sport with its credulity. The numerous altars, and the solemn processions, the lamps, the garlands, the lustral water of the Romish ceremonial, its incense, its images, and votive tablets serve rather to illustrate the rites, than to supersede the belief of classical mythology. The peculiar attributes of heathen deities, the various departments in which they presided, are assigned to Christian saints°. The traveller who visits in the metropolis of Italy that superb monument of its ancient greatness, which was dedicated by Agrippa to Jupiter and all the Gods, now finds that the Pantheon has been re-consecrated to the Virgin, and the holy martyrs. Different services present themselves to his observation :

“ counts of the miracles they related, those miracles
 “ would have been as idle and foolish as those related by
 “ the ancient fathers.” Hey, *ibid*.

° See Appendix IX.

separate altars, and distinct congregations around each, devoted to their peculiar saint; and he discovers that, in a city which now claims preeminence over the Christian, as it once possessed the mastery of the heathen world, though the name be changed, the essence and meaning of religion continue to be still the same P.

It has been observed that many of these corruptions may be referred rather to error than design, and that many, though designed, may have been prompted by pious motives. No charitable construction, however, can be alleged to palliate the abuses which terminated in oppressing Christianity not only with the burden of Papal superstition, but also with the yoke of Papal tyranny. Im-

• Middleton's Letter from Rome, p. 161. See also Geddes's Description of a solemn Pontifical Mass, and the account of a Procession on Good-Friday, at Courtray, (Picart, vol. ii. p. 27. Engl. Tr.) and of another at Brussels. (Ibid.) The Romish ecclesiastics themselves seem to have been sometimes conscious that their church is liable to the charge of idolatry. "As the name Decalogue implies ten commandments, the Romanists make ten; yet they get rid of the second, through fear, probably, of making a difficulty about their images, and seem to divide the tenth into two." Hey's Lectures, vol. iii. p. 75.

mediately

mediately on the temporal establishment of the faith under the empire of Constantine, as the rites of heathenism were adapted to the doctrines of Christianity; so the temporal privileges of the heathen pontificate were assumed by Christian bishops¹. A more recent age beheld the complete emancipation of the church from its dependance on the state. The abuses adopted in conformity to Paganism were maintained by the Roman pontiffs as constituting the essence of Christianity. Gregory the second commenced the assertion of Papal independence as the defender of image worship against the profane impiety of those who dared to reject its use, or question its lawfulness². The right of electing the Popes, without the obligation of waiting for the consent of the

¹ “Geddes’s Essay on the Roman Pontificate, p. 68. See *ibid.* 76, 77.

² Universal History, vii. 705. fol. Gibbon, c. 49. vol. v. 4to. p. 105. Though it may be true, as Montesquieu asserts, (*Grandeur et Décadence*, chap. 22.) that the Greek church was more corrupted than the Latin, yet the vicinity of the court, which probably fomented the intrigues and augmented the corruptions of the Constantinopolitan ecclesiastics, must nevertheless have opposed obstacles to their independence, from which the bishops of Rome were in a great degree secured by their distance. See Villers on the Reformation, translated by Mills, p. 432.

emperors, was conferred on the sacerdotal order, not as the tribute of a mistaken piety, but as the reward of temporal services^s. The step from independence to territorial dominion was marked by the deposition of emperors, and the patronage of rebellion. The fictitious gift of Constantine to Sylvester was realized by the gratitude of Pepin, and of Charlemagne; but it was purchased by the degradation of the Merovingian race of princes^t. Such were the unhallowed methods by which the authority of the popedom was advanced amid the distractions of the empire, and the inroads of barbarous tribes, till, at length, a tyranny was established over the mind, less capable of being removed than servitude of the body^u. Indig-

^s Mosheim, Cent. 9. c. ii. §. 3.

^t Gibbon ubi sup. p. 119.

^u See Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 175. ed. 1687. and Sir I. Newton's Observations on Daniel, chap. 8. Any person who would wish to see the particulars of those unjust privileges which were assumed by the clergy, and adopted into the administration of justice during the more corrupted ages, may consult the work of De Graffis, a Sicilian lawyer, *De Effectibus Clericatus*. It is the doctrine of one chapter, that though, generally speaking, a person who commits an injury be bound to make restitution, yet that a clerk is exempted from the obligation. P. 360. Eff. 48. ed. 3. Panormi, 1633. There

nation may rouse the courage, or exasperate the vengeance of an injured, if an enlightened people. Where the principles of liberty are understood, the throne of the patriot monarch is the only throne which is secure. But when reason has been subjected to the tyranny of long prescription, and religious bigotry, no sudden exertion is competent to restore its freedom. The twilight must first glimmer, and the day dawn through ages of gradual illumination, ere the perfect light of truth can rise to dispel the terrors of darkness. Bacon studied, and Wickliffe taught, without any immediate result corresponding to the merit of their exertions. Other ages were to elapse before the practicability of deliverance could exist, before that flame of reformation could be kindled at the pile of Latimer and Ridley, of which, as they predicted, so we confide that it shall never be extinguished.

With the corruptions of the Romish church it must be unnecessary to compare, expressly, the unviolated religion of Jesus Christ. The contrast is too obvious to require a minute exem-

is an instance of still more licentious immorality, p. 451, Eff. 32. where the writer, however, has the modesty to dissent himself from an opinion which he relates to be avowed by many eminent doctors.

plification. No insult to the spirit of true Christianity can easily be imagined, of which, in the manifold abuses of the papacy, some striking instance is not to be discovered. Christ gave himself a ransom for mankind. Pardons have been lavished by the Roman pontiff on all who would arm to glut his vengeance^x; and sold to all who would contribute to satiate his rapacity^y. Christ submitted himself to share the sorrows, and participate in the infirmities of mankind; that he might comfort our weakness, and show by the most lively example that he was sensible to all our wants.

^x Hist des Albigeois p. 95.

^y “ A notable instance of this hath appeared lately, “ when in the year 1709, the privateers of Bristol took “ the galleon, in which they found five hundred bales of “ these bulls, and sixteen reams were in a bale; so that “ they reckoned the whole came to 3,840,000. These “ bulls are imposed on the people, and sold, the lowest at “ three ryals, a little more than 20d. but to some at fifty “ pieces of eight, about 11l. of our money; and this to “ be valued, according to the ability of the purchaser, “ once in two years. All are obliged to buy them against “ Lent. Besides the account given of this in the Cruiz- “ ing Voyage, I have a particular attestation of it by Cap- “ tain Dampier. He was not concerned in casting up “ the number of them; but he says that there was such a “ vast quantity of them, that they careened their ship with “ them.” Burnet, iii. Introd. p. xx. cited Jortin’s Life of Erasmus, i. 108. 8vo,

When

When the order of the inquisition was instituted by Innocent III. he selected such persons to fill its offices as were most remarkable for the austerities of personal discipline. He concluded that the fanatic excesses of mortification, to which they had habituated themselves, would deaden their sensibility for others²: and they, in truth, who inflicted on their own flesh unnatural and superstitious penances, were, probably, of all men, most hardened against humanity; least likely to be mollified by tears or disturbed by pity in authorizing the use of torture, or regulating its severity.

Without attempting, therefore, to enlarge on this uncontested distinction between the moral purity of genuine Christianity and of Papal corruptions, it is to be observed that their difference in real wisdom is not less re-

² Hist. de l'Inquisition, p. 119. 8vo. Col. "Ecoutons le Docteur Gonzale de Illescas, dans la premiere partie de son Histoire Pontificale et Catholique, pag. 117. "Si alors (dans les premiers siècles de l'Eglise) on ne bru- loit pas les hérétiques opiniâtres, c'est qu'outre qu'ils étoient fort puissans, le Pape n'avoit pas les forces ni l'appui des princes séculiers. Présentement, la foi étant établie et reçue, et le souverain pontife ayant acquis beaucoup de pouvoir, il est juste que l'on procede contre eux par les plus cruels supplices." La Croze, Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie, pp. 304, 305.

mark-

markable ; since it is probably to this difference that the imperfect progress of our religion in the world is chiefly to be referred.

It has been seen that the abuses which have been enumerated, whether their guilt be extenuated by sincere error, or enhanced by temporal ambition, undoubtedly originated in a principle of compliance with existing circumstances. Such compliance, while it was practised by mistaken Christians from the belief that it might be unobjectionable or expedient, was encouraged by the ambitious from insincere and selfish motives. Now, if the prejudices of mankind were uniform both in kind and degree, an accommodation to those of one time might prove, at all times, equally politic and successful. But though truth be always the same, error is always variable. The prejudices of different ages and different countries are different from and opposite to each other. To compromise, therefore, the real doctrines of religion by compliance with the superstitions of a particular age, or single people, not only impairs the purity, but also impedes the progress of the religion, when delivered to a succeeding generation, or preached in another country. What, in the one case, is compliance, must necessarily be opposition
in

in the other. Weak, also, and imperfect as is our perception of the truth, yet reason and evidence are, on the whole, seen ultimately to prevail, while opposing errors combat each other without ceasing, and triumph alternately without effect. Where Polytheism is the popular superstition, the worship of images and the deification of saints may be a politic adaptation to immediate circumstances. But, wherever the errors of Polytheism are diminished in their prevalence, the policy of this adaptation must be proportionably lessened: and wherever the unity of the divine being is completely acknowledged, and idolatry abhorred, polytheistic or idolatrous doctrines must prove a fatal bar to the reception of a religion which includes them ^a.

Nor is the tyranny of a religion less adverse to its progress in an age which recognizes the principles of liberty, than its corruptions, in an age which is enlightened with the know-

^a The superstition of the Siamese may not always dispose them to believe in transubstantiation. "L'Eucharistie après cela ne scandaliferoit point les Siamois, comme elle scandalisoit autrefois les Payens d'Europe: d'autant plus que les Siamois croient que Sommona-Codom a pu donner sa femme et ses enfans à manger aux Talapoins." Loubere, Siam, vol. i. p. 428.

ledge

ledge of truth. That both the corruptions and the tyranny of the Romish church have in fact been prejudicial to its real interests is so obvious, that I may be allowed to assume it for the present, and to reserve for my concluding discourse the few observations which, on this subject, it will be necessary to make. I shall now confine myself to explain the manner in which the abuses of the papacy oppose the propagation even of pure Christianity.

It may be observed, then, that the Jew, the Mahometan, or the Infidel, can scarcely be expected to discriminate between the various denominations of our religion, to inquire not only into its general evidence, but also into the falsity of those claims which are asserted by many of its professors. When they are called on to embrace the Christian system, they deny that it is consistent with the purity of the Mosaic, or with the truths of natural religion. They upbraid the Romish errors with pointed and just animadversion, and attributing those errors, though most unjustly, to the true religion of the Gospel, "This," they exclaim, "is Christianity. It is unfriendly
"to the liberty of man, and incompatible
"with the attributes of God. Why should we
"be taxed by you with credulity, when we
"may

“ may retort the charge upon yourselves ?
 “ Why should we exchange the religion of
 “ our fathers for a religion not more excellent
 “ than theirs ? ” Undoubtedly, the corrup-
 tions by which Christianity is exposed to such
 repulse, though they may have tended to con-
 ciliate the fleeting prejudices existent at the
 period of their origin, yet, in their eventual
 operation, present difficulties to the under-
 standing, not only more real, but, likewise,
 more apparent ; not only more repugnant to
 the reason of the wise, but likewise more of-
 fensive to the prejudices of the vulgar, than
 any which ever seem to be attached to truth.

The answer, indeed, may fairly be returned
 to all objections derived from the abuses of
 Christianity, that the abuses constitute not the
 religion ; that we profess not to preach, that
 we venture not to defend the corruptions of
 our faith ; that the religion of Protestants is
 the religion of the Bible only ; and that, in
 this sacred volume, neither doctrines are taught,
 nor practices sanctioned, which are inconsis-
 tent with the purity of God.

This answer, no doubt, is just and reason-
 able. But, wherever the affections of man-
 kind are concerned in the result of a discussion,
 in questions where demonstration is not to be
 expected,

expected, and the evidence of probability alone is to be considered, the justest argument, unaided by circumstances, is, always, of imperfect, and often of inconsiderable effect. Men, in general, are prejudiced and hasty reasoners. Always disposed to believe themselves, their party, or their sect, to be in the right, they are ready to receive as true whatever seems consonant to their belief; but will rarely condescend to doubt the accuracy of their own opinions, or to examine, impartially, the arguments of their adversaries. They are ready to hold fast that which is good; but the previous labour of proving all things is too fatiguing or too irritating for them to bear. Whatever seems to be in their favour, though it may be founded in misrepresentation, they are unwilling to relinquish, and are apt to tax an opponent with every extreme that the zealots of his system may have ever held; to attribute to him doctrines which he does not profess, and errors which he is studious to disavow.

From this weakness, which is common to all persuasions, the opposers of Christianity have, certainly, not been free. Nor, possibly, can it in any one be more excusable than in the sincere unbeliever, to whom the evidence of our religion may be proposed, while his
mind,

mind, and, perhaps, his senses are impressed with the full enormity of papal superstition. He sees a church which has succeeded, without external interruption, to the earliest societies of Christians ; the most sumptuous in its establishment, and the creed of which is most extensive in its reception. He sees it, however, to be idolatrous in worship, and tyrannical in power ; and knows that these characters cannot possibly proceed from God.

Rejecting, therefore, the pretensions of the Roman church, he deigns not to look for truth in less ostentatious, and apparently less ancient, establishments. Such disdain, in a question of such primary importance, is a fault, undoubtedly, of no trivial magnitude. It is his duty to examine, and to prove. Still it is so natural an error, so similar to those of which we all partake, that we must pity while we reprove, and lament it rather than condemn. A just perception, however, both of the error and its consequences may be the means of lessening its frequency. Seeing that the cause of Christianity has suffered by the abuses which have been introduced into its profession, that the policy which seeks only for present advantage is eventually succeeded by misfortune ; we may be instructed studiously to distinguish

tinguish the true religion of Christ from the corruptions by which it has been oppressed. We can scarcely hope that the existing evil can be immediately and completely cured; but it may be diminished by constant attention, and, possibly, removed by gradual renovation. Still, perhaps, for a season, the abuses of the Papal religion will cause the inconsiderate sceptic to reject the belief of Christianity. Yet we may hope that, after the religious as well as the civil distractions with which Europe has been long harassed, the utility and excellence of the Reformation will become conspicuous throughout the Christian world. While it exhibits a resource to doubtful Papists, it moderates the doctrines, and tempers the abuses of Popery itself; and tends, in all the sphere of its operation, extensive or limited, professed or indirect, to illustrate the great contrast between error and truth, between craft and wisdom, between the means which tend solely to the establishment, and those which secure the permanence of a religion.

SERMON V.

" On y connoît que l'objet principal des Jesuites n'est pas proprement de corrompre les mœurs des Chrétiens, ni aussi de les réformer ; mais de s'attirer tout le monde par une conduite accommodante." *Preface to the Prov. Letters.*

" Fateor equidem me cum a multis annis societatis hujus incrementa incredibilia, tum, quibus valet, dotes aut famam, quæ longe lateque diffunditur, eruditionis nempe multiplicis, opulentiae privatum modum supergressæ, gratiæ apud magnates, notitiæ omnium partium et linguarum orbis considerassem, non potuisse non sortem Ecclesiæ Christianæ vel mirari satis vel dolere. Cogitabam enim si hominum ingenio, sapientia, industria, agilitate, facultatibus, et laboribus juvari potuisset Ecclesiæ, purgari religio, disciplina et virtus vera atque infucata restitui, eruditio ad summum fastigium erigi, errores omnes refutari, præstari id potuisse ab hac societate, cujus exemplum in omnium seculorum historia non inveniemus, sive numerum et delectum hominum ex omnibus nationibus, generibus et ordinibus ; sive commoditates totum terrarum orbem sumtu ex aliena liberalitate aut sua solertia quæsito peragrandi, omnes artes liberales et mechanicas excolendi, reges et magnates accedendi et conciliandi : sive partas inde opes, et tot alia quæ nulli vel politica vel religiosæ societati contigerunt, respiciamus." *Seckendorf, Comm. de Luther. lib. 3. sect. 21. §. 84. subsect. 74, 75.*

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

THE founders of those earlier societies in the Romish church, to which the title of Regular Clergy is applied, seem usually to have been influenced by a pious, though ignorant enthusiasm. These votaries of monastic severity were of opinion that they purified the soul by macerating the body, and that the surest recommendation to the divine favour was the exercise of an uninterrupted devotion, which left no interval either for the pleasures or the temporal cares of life. Their pursuits extended not to the good of others, but were solely confined to their own individual perfection ; and, though they originally professed a respect for the ecclesiastics of secular establishments, and held that even the laity might be safely, and, perhaps, laudably employed in the business of their respective stations, yet they believed the noblest and most dignified occupation of the human faculties to consist in abstraction from the world, and contemplation of the divine essence.

The several orders of Professed Religious,
that

that arose in consequence of this persuasion, interfered not at first with the episcopal and parochial clergy. Enthusiasts, however, soon feel the love of power, as well as the spirit of proselytism; and men, who were considered by the superstitious as invested with peculiar sanctity of character, from being revered as saints, were soon consulted as teachers. They acquired establishments and opulence as the fruits of this public estimation; nor could they fail to share in the power of the church, while they partook of the liberality of the people. It seems, also, to be allowed, that, during the period of their later history, the strictness of their apparent rule was strikingly contrasted by the predominance of real luxury, and that their religious zeal was principally confined to the advancement of their own greatness, and of its necessary support, the prerogative of the Roman Pontiff. Such was the origin and progress of those different fraternities, which, before the expiration of the ninth century, were merged in the Benedictine order^a; and of

^a Mosheim, vol. i. p. 292, 293. For an account of the superstitions of St. Benedict himself see Stillingfleet, "Of the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome." Works, vol. v. p. 100. On the fanaticism of Romualdus, Francis, and Dominic, *ibid.* p. 102—104, &c.

those various branches of the same extensive order, which, under several denominations, have since existed.

After the greatness of the Benedictine order was passed, that of the Mendicants succeeded. A sincere but fanatical piety had, doubtless, a considerable share in their establishment^b, but it was instructed and disciplined by policy. However hostile the secular clergy might be to them, their interest was warmly espoused by the Papal court, which was then rising to the zenith of its greatness, and not unjustly celebrated, in a comparison with other cabinets, for the ability and conduct which it displayed. The supremacy over the whole Christian world, which was claimed by the metropolitan of Rome, was not only inconsistent with reason, but also repugnant to the interests of national churches. The bishops of Germany or France could have few motives for being desirous to extend a prerogative, which was founded in encroachments partly on the liberties of every country that had submitted to it, and, partly, on the privileges of ecclesiastics. The regular orders, more particularly the Mendicants, were, on the contrary, the absolute unconditional servants of Rome. Considered by the clergy of

^b Ibid. p. 105.

all

all national establishments as intruders into a province which did not properly belong to them, they could look to the Pope alone for countenance or protection. They spared no labour, they shrunk from no service, which might conciliate his will, or increase his power to support them. Hence the zeal, by which the Inquisition became, in the hands of the Dominicans, more fatal to the devoted Albigenses than the calamities even of a religious war; hence the profligate licence with which the sale of indulgences was conducted, principally by ecclesiastics of the same order, till Luther was at length roused, and the Protestant reformation was begun.

At the commencement and during the early progress of that glorious struggle, the estimation of the regular orders was sunk to so low an ebb, both on account of their ignorance and their immorality, as to reflect a general discredit on the church. This disgrace was felt so sensibly by the more liberal members of the Romish communion, that they loudly declared, when the Pope's approbation was solicited to the new institute of the Jesuits, that Europe was already oppressed by the multitude of Regulars, and that, instead of adding to their number, it was highly expedient

that the ordinances of the council of Lateran under Innocent the third, and of Lyons under Gregory the tenth^c, should be enforced, for the purpose of its restriction^d. The difficulty thus opposed was overcome by a vow of implicit obedience to the see of Rome, which was entered into by Loyola, and his associates, and afterwards exacted of all those Jesuits who were admitted to the highest rank of Profession; a vow never realized, indeed, by performance, but flattering in its appearance, and too specious to be resisted, at a time when heresy was become more daring and successful than before, and the active energy of a new order seemed necessary to stop its progress.

Policy and enthusiasm have been joined in every signal imposition on mankind. Those schemes, probably, bid fairest for success, where the cool head has devised the plan,

^c This council of Lyons was held in 1274, and that of Lateran in 1215. Concilia cited by M. de la Chalotais, *Compte rendu des Constitutions des Jesuites*, p. 5. ed. Amst. 1762. Benard, *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, Utrecht, 1741. Liv. i. chap. 69. and Mosheim on the Mendicants, vol. i. p. 655.

^d Benard *ibid.* *Consilium Deceptorum Cardinalium et aliorum Prælatorum de emendanda Ecclesia S. D. N. Papa Paulo III. ipso jubente conscriptum et exhibitum an. 1538.* Lond. 1609. p. 11.

which

which the warm heart is impelled to execute. Either may, indeed, precede the other ; but, though the torrent of enthusiasm be violent, it is exhausted uselessly, unless wisdom direct its course ; and the most ingenious schemes of policy will languish in the detail, unless they be passionately espoused *. Both these principles of action were united in the establishment of the Jesuits : enthusiasm was guided by policy, and policy was aided by enthusiasm.

The adult temperament of its founder is easily to be discovered in the early history of the order. He had been educated in military habits, and had attached himself to the studies of chivalry. His fancy kindled into religious ardour, because the heroism of faith seemed of a nature still more illustrious and captivating than that of arms. He devoted himself to the service of the Virgin with ceremonies precisely analogous to those which attended the investi-

* “ Les hommes en effet sont rarement conduits par les esprits froids et tranquilles. La paisible raison n’a point toute seule cette chaleur nécessaire pour persuader ses opinions, et faire entrer dans ses vues ; elle se contente d’instruire son siècle à petit bruit et sans éclat, et d’être ensuite simple spectatrice de l’effet bon ou mauvais que ses leçons auront produit.” D’Alembert sur la Destruction des Jésuites, p. 150, 151. 12mo. 1765.

ture of knighthood, and, having suspended his sword and poignard in the chapel of Montferat, he sallied into the world, retaining, under the weeds of beggary, the spirit of the warrior. Much of his succeeding conduct was agreeable to what might naturally be expected from this commencement of his spiritual labours. Sometimes he affected a gross vulgarity of manner, sometimes an offensive negligence of person; now oppressed by melancholy and abstinence, and now frantic with ecstasy. In the latter part of his life, particularly when established at Rome as the General of his order, a similar ebullition of enthusiasm is, indeed, scarcely to be discerned; an example of the known progress by which the zeal of superstition is converted by age into the spirit of party[†]; and a presumption of the fact, which many circumstances might be adduced to confirm, that he had then submitted to the direction of men far abler than himself[‡].

The constitutions of the Jesuits are evidently seen to have been dictated by a consummate policy, and exhibit even to careless observers

[†] L'enthousiasme se tourne assez ordinairement en esprit de faction dans un âge plus avancé. Chalotais, 164.

[‡] See Appendix X.

a striking consonance to the real history of the order. Their principal characteristic is the blind obedience on which its whole economy is founded. As the limbs of a lifeless carcase, which are informed by no will, excited by no agency of their own; as a staff wielded at pleasure by the hands of its possessor; in such a manner and so passively, according to the words of their institute itself, individual Jesuits commit themselves to the guidance of their superiors^b.

Every member of the order, after having taken the first vows, became unable to retire without the permission of the General; while, except in comparatively few instances, the General retained the prerogative of dismissal, even over the Professed themselvesⁱ. Restricted by no law he possessed the right of altering the constitutions, as circumstances might seem to

^b See Appendix XI.

ⁱ “ Ils ne peuvent jamais sortir après leur premier vœu sans la permission du Général : mais le Général peut les renvoyer en tout tems *même après les derniers vœux.*” Chalotais, p. 121. But this last expression must be interpreted of the *Profès de trois vœux*, from whom the *Profès de quatre vœux* are in many essential respects to be distinguished. See Benard, liv. ii. §. 14, and 18, and the *Monarchie des Solipses*, 12mo. Amst. 1753. p. 78. note 4.

direct :

direct^k: in him the whole patronage of the society was concentrated. He was invested exclusively with the executive, and exercised also, in effect, the supreme legislative authority^l.

The education of the Jesuits, and the precepts inculcated on them were well calculated to acquire fit subjects for the service of this unparalleled despotism. Instead of the barren piety of conventuals, they were exhorted to cultivate the talents suited to promote the success of active life^m. The novice, on his first

^k “ Quoique nous ayons des loix, et même en plus grand nombre qu’il ne seroit nécessaire, le Général cependant n’y a aucun égard.—Car il n’y a pas une loi dont il n’ait le pouvoir de dispenser qui il lui plaît.—C’est une chose déplorable.” Mariana (Jésuite) quoted Monarchie des Solipfes, p. 88. See also Chalotais p. 31. note e.

^l See Appendix XII.

^m Benard I. 58, 59. “ Primum, quoniam nomen hoc religionis semper hactenus solitum est solis tribui monachis ob quandam excellentiorem rationem vitæ, novum ut quisquam intelligat nos esse ad eundem modum religiosos: nec enim nos dignos esse arbitramur, qui tam sanctum atque perfectum vitæ genus profiteamur. Horum enim institutum aliud in aliis officiis honestis et sanctis obeundis versatur totum. Nostrium, cum aliis in rebus, tum maxima ex parte in studio et
“ pro-

admission, was required to renounce whatever intimacies he had contracted under the ties of blood, or friendship^a, to disclose to his superiors the most minute particulars, even such as were entirely unconnected with religion, and the most flagrant enormities of his past life; to promise that he would submit, at stated intervals, his future conduct to their animadversion; and to consent that no confidence reposed by him in another, that only excepted which he might entrust to the seal of confession, should be deemed sacred from their knowledge^o.

Subordinate officers transmitted regularly to the General monthly, yearly, and triennial reports from every province in which the order possessed establishments. Besides the ordinary details of business or of fact, they notified the age, the talents, and the moral habits of every individual, who was subject to their respective

“ professione consistit earum artium, quæ ad spirituales
“ populi propriam utilitatem conducit.

“ Nec etiam sæculares sumus eo modo, quo reliqui sacerdotes: vivimus enim in congregatione et societate.”

Déclaration faite par les Jésuites au Recteur, et
à l'Université de Paris, 1564. Merc. Jes. i. 348.

^a See Appendix XIII.

^o See Appendix XIV.

jurisdictions,

jurisdictions. They particularized the studies to which he was chiefly inclined, and the employments which he seemed most competent to discharge. Thus vigilantly were observed the rising hopes of the society; and from among men thus accurately known, and often subjected to such discipline and trial as might be best calculated to develop their real character and powers; were selected, according to their several capacities, the persons most aptly qualified for the various and peculiar uses, whether of temporal or of spiritual ambition^p. Rank, wealth, and worldly reputation are recounted in the institutes of the order as circumstances which ought to influence, though not indispensably requisite to determine the choice of members. It was contemplated that in some these external advantages might compensate the want of talent; while others, though poor and mean, might amply atone for an ignoble descent, or for the want of fortune, by the possession of personal ability^q.

^p See Appendix XV.

^q “ *Dona externa nobilitatis, divitiarum, bonæ famæ, et similia, ut non satis sunt, si desint alia; ita, cum alia suppetent, hæc non erunt necessaria: quatenus tamen ad ædificationem faciunt, reddunt magis idoneos ut admittantur, qui sine ipsis alioqui essent idonei propter dotes* ”

The authors of that memorable system, like other ambitious speculators, preferred decision and intrepidity of character, even to the highest qualifications of the mind; knowing that to dare boldly is usually to succeed, or conscious that they had wisdom to contrive, wherever they might have strength to execute*.

The reputation of poverty was necessary to the popularity of the Jesuits; but the reality would have proved adverse to their power. Their constitutions, accordingly, in conformity to the rules of the Mendicant societies which existed at the time of their formation, prohibit the acquisition of fixed revenues, but permit, under an ingenious evasion, except to those who had bound themselves by the last vows, the inheritance of private property*.

"dotes alias prædictas." Constitutiones, p. 13. ed. Rom. 1570. See *ibid.* the whole of cap. 2. De admittendis in societatem.

* *Idée du Gouvernement des Jes.* p. 311. subjoined to the *Monarchie des Solipses*.

* See *Const.* p. 4. Benard, liv. ii. chap. 18—20. *Hist. Gen. des Jes.* iii. 285. Charles Zani, son of Count Zani of Bologna, entered into the order of the Jesuits, in 1627, during the life of his father and elder brother. On their death, the Jesuits are said to have persuaded him to quit the order, for the purpose of succeeding to the property to which by that means he was become entitled. Accordingly

These inheritances of individuals, and all testamentary bequests, were implicitly confided to the disposal of the General. To his administration, also, the revenues of the colleges, for the endowment of which there is an express provision[†], were entrusted; with this sole reservation, that they should not be alienated from the uses of the society, or the application to such purposes as seemed conducive to the glory of God^ⁱ. Enormous wealth was dili-

cordingly he did so, but first made a vow to resume the character of Jesuit as soon as he should be possessed of his inheritance. Arnould, *Morale Pratique des Jesuites*, vol. i. p. 276. ed. Cologne, 12mo. 1669. Aquaviva rescinded the injunction of his predecessors, that Jesuits should not possess ecclesiastical dignities. Dom. Inigo, ii. 113—115.

[†] Benard, vol. i. p. 39. Merc. Jes. i. 308. “Le titre de “*pauvres* n’est que pour les seules Maisons Professes, et “pour ceux d’entre le petit nombre des Profés qui les habitent. Or ces Maisons ne sont qu’au nombre de 24. “Ainsi seroient 24 Maisons pauvres contre 1011 Maisons riches. C’est donc déjà une parade de pauvreté “qui se réduit à rien.” Hist. Gen. des Jes. vol. iv. p. 189. It was enacted by a bull of Julius III. in 1550, ten years only after the institution of the order of the Jesuits, that the revenues of the colleges should not be applied to the *Maisons Professes*. Benard, i. 129. The prohibition seems to indicate that such a misapplication had even then, in some instances at least, been made.

^ⁱ “De iis vero quæ societati ita relinquuntur, ut ipsa
“pro

gently amassed, under these and other pretexts, the influence of which naturally gave increased vigour to the despotism of an unlimited prerogative.

The checks on this formidable authority were apparent rather than real. It may be observed, indeed, that, though the office of General is by the constitutions declared to be for life, the supreme power is nominally vested in the general congregation of the order, by which, in certain cases, he may be deposed^{*}. This, however, is a power which has never been exerted[†]. The congregation has rarely been assembled, but for the sole purpose of a new election; and the authority of the General

“pro suo arbitratu ea disponat, (five bona stabilia illa
“sint, five mobilia) idem Generalis dispo-
“nere poterit aut vendendo aut retinendo, aut huic vel
“illi loco id quod ei videbitur applicando: prout ad ma-
“jorem Dei gloriam senserit expedire.” Const. p. 227.
“Possunt omnes nostri Præpositi ac rectores commutare
“ex uno usu ad alium necessarium legata quæ relinquin-
“tur nostris collegiis aut domibus, dummodo id fiat sine
“scandalo eorum ad quos solutio talium legatorum perti-
“net: hæc facultas reservatur Generali.” Compendium
Priv. Chalotais, 90. See *ibid.* p. 33. note (i), and for ac-
tual evasions of the vow of Poverty, Benard, livre viii.
chap. 30—32.

^{*} Bouhours, p. 330. Chalotais, 119.

[†] Dom. Inigo, i. 182.

has

has constantly been so great, that a recurrence to this privilege of appeal must always have proved necessarily unsuccessful^a. A particular vow, also, of obedience to the Pope was made by those members of the order, who were advanced to the state of complete profession, and highest dignity, by which the similar obligation entered into by them towards their General may appear, in some degree, to be superseded^a. But the number of such Jesuits was very inconsiderable, in comparison of those, who were under obligation to the General alone^b. The vow of obedience,

^a Ibid. 183. Chalotais, 29, 30. A general congregation was held by Aquaviva, but composed entirely of his own creatures, and assembled by him for the purpose of counteracting those projects of a reform in the order which Clement VIII. was willing to entertain. Hist. Gen. des Jes. iv. 69, 70. This attempt to reform the order was particularly directed to obtain a restriction of the power of the General. Similar attempts had been repeatedly made by many among the Jesuits themselves. Ibid. 62. See Mariana; Disc. des défauts. du Gouvernement des Jes. a French translation of which is printed together with the original Spanish in the second volume of the Merc. Jesuite. See also the supplications for a reform of the order, ibid. pp. 195. et seqq.

^a Bull of Paul III. 1540. Merc. Jes. p. 306. Examen Gen. Const. cap. i. 1.

^b Hist. Gen. des Jes. iii. 251.

also,

also, to the General may be considered as the necessary cement of the society, or the indispensable instrument of power. The vow of obedience to the Pope was intended merely to acquire his support. When the end was attained, the stipulation was neglected. His power of withdrawing, or even of limiting that support was questioned : the possession of irrevocable privileges was assumed, and verbal declarations, alleged to have been made in private conferences, were confidently appealed to, as of equal authority with his most express and formal decrees*.

Such were the constitutions of this celebrated order. Nor does the spirit, which they have been represented to possess, exist only in some doubtful maxim introduced into them by accident, or to be discovered by a malignant ingenuity : it is the vital principle which actuates and pervades the whole. The volume of their institute cannot be opened by the most unprejudiced speculator on their history, without perceiving that it contains prospective views of aggrandizement : that it was originally intended as well as actually applied to create a spiritual soldiery, active in enter-

* See Appendix XVI.

prize, patient in suffering, whose personal conduct might conciliate approbation, whose eloquence might gain profelytes, and whose passions might be concentrated in zeal for the interests of their order^d. General injunctions to virtue are far from being omitted. But the political uses to which the appearance of virtue may be made subservient seem to be contemplated with far more interest than its reality^e.

Should the justice of these inferences be disputed, we may appeal from speculation to fact. The conduct of the Jesuits has been always

^d See the Constitutions, cap. 2. & 3. “De admit-
 “tendis in societatem,” et “De iis quæ impediunt ne
 “quis in societatem admittatur.” The military genius
 of the society is animadverted on not unskilfully in the
Advis de Messire Eustache de Bellay Evesque de Paris, en
l’an 1554, contenant les raisons, pour lesquelles il estime cette
société ne devoir estre reçue. “Et parceque le faicte que
 “l’on prétend de l’érection dudit ordre ou compagnie, est
 “qu’ils iroint prêcher les Turcs et infidelles, et les amener
 “à la cognoissance de Dieu: faudroit, sous correction,
 “établir lefdites maisons et sociétées es lieux prochains
 “desdits infidelles, ainsi qu’anciennement a été fait des
 “chevaliers de Rhodes, qui ont été mis sur les frontieres
 “de la Chrétienté, non au milieu d’icelle: aussi y auroit-il
 “beaucoup de temps perdu et consommé d’aller de Paris
 “jusqu’au Constantinople, et autres lieux de Turquie.”
 Merc. Jes. i. 320.

^e See Appendix XVII.

suitable

suitable to the character of their constitutions. They have always studied to ingratiate themselves with the powerful and the opulent : ever extensively engaged in the education of youth, they rarely have discovered among their pupils the promise of future talent, without endeavouring to secure it for themselves'. The inferior members yielded themselves up to the transcendant despotism which has been described, its willing slaves, and resolute ministers. They hastened to forget all national or domestic feelings, and carried with them into the offices to which they were appointed a full persuasion that they owed a fidelity to their General, which superseded every obligation by which men can be bound to a temporal sovereign, to the countries in which they were born, or the families from which they sprang. They abandoned all rights of their own, even their reputations, to his disposal :

' Monarchie des Solipfes, chap. xviii. note (2). Catechisme des Jesuites, livre ii. chap. 4. This spirit of proselytism seems to have been common to all the monastic orders. (See the Letter of Erasmus to Grunnius, App. to Jortin's Life of Erasmus, No. i.) That it was preserved even in the later ages of the Jesuit history may be seen in the Mémoires de Marmontel, vol. i. p. 112. ed. Paris, 12mo. 1804.

and cherished the contemplation of his greatness as their ruling pride and passion^s. What so fit for the purposes of ambition as a devoted band of these formidable, and, to use an expression of their own, these regimented ecclesiastics? What dark conspirator is to be found in history enabled by long and painful machinations to secure to himself associates so active or so faithful as the General of the Jesuits possessed^h? Yet he abandoned not himself without precaution even to the Provincials or superiors of the order. Each member was a spy on each. The secret malice of the informer was actively exerted against all, from which no ability escaped, and by which no station was respectedⁱ.

^s “ Des esclaves n’ont point de patrie : ils ont oublié
 “ la maison de leurs peres et les lieux où ils sont nés ; ils
 “ ne voyent que la grandeur du despote qu’ils servent, et
 “ de l’empire qu’il s’est formé. Leurs yeux sont toujours
 “ sur la main du maitre, et ils n’ont pas plus d’autorité
 “ qu’un instrument inanimé.” Chalotais, p. 124. See
 p. 125.

^h Chalotais, 165. D’Alembert, p. 36.

ⁱ Mariana, Discours des défauts du gouvernement des
 Jesuites, chap. 13. Fr. Transl. Mercure Jesuite, 2. 148.
 “ J’ose bien assurer, que si on venoit à feuilleter les ar-
 “ chives de Rome, on ne trouvera pas un seul, qui soit
 “ homme de bien, au moins d’être nous autres, qui
 “ sommes

The indirect and selfish policy by which the Jesuits were distinguished is not, in any degree, less remarkable, if we turn from the despotism of their constitutions to the viciousness of their casuistry. They held, to the most unqualified extent, that the baseness of the means is sanctified by the purity of the end^k; that all compliances were lawful which might promote their corporate greatness; and, in magnifying the authority of prescription, they extinguished, so far as sophism can extinguish reason, the power of conscience. Industriously insinuating themselves into the office of confessors, they were careful not to impede their reception in this capacity by any impolitic severity of moral discipline^l. Every

“*sommes esloignés, et ne sommes point connus du Général.*
 “*Car tous sont marqués, les uns plus, les autres moins.*”
 Ibid. p. 150. See also *La Monarchie des Solipfes*, chap. 10. §. 9. and the *Idée du Gouvernement des Jesuites* subjoined, p. 324.

^k “*Quand nous ne pouvons pas empêcher l'action, nous purifions au moins l'intention; et ainsi nous corrigeons le vice du moien par la pureté de la fin.*” *Lettres Provinciales*, lettre 7. p. 97. ed. Cologne, 12mo, 1657. See P. Bauny cited lettre 5. p. 66.

^l “*Helas, me dit le Pere, nostre principal but auroit été de n'établir point d'autres maximes que celles de l'Evangile dans toute leur sévérité. Et l'on voit assez par le reglement de nos mœurs, que si nous souffrons*

abuse which the wildest visionary had patronized, every real crime which might have been countenanced in the wantonness of disputation as *probably* justifiable or expedient ; all members of the society, however it might wound their personal feelings, were commanded to tolerate^m. It was the recognized doc-

“ quelque relâchement dans les autres, c'est plutôt par
 “ condescendance que par dessein. Nous y sommes for-
 “ cés. Les hommes sont aujourd'hui tellement corrom-
 “ pus, que ne pouvant les faire venir à nous, il faut bien
 “ que nous allions à eux.” Sixieme Lettre à un Provin-
 cial, p. 83. “ Les Jesuites sont trop bons : ils voudroient
 “ sauver tout le monde, et ne faire de peine à personne.”
 Lettre de Mess. des Missions étrangères au Pape, sur les
 idolatries et sur les superstitions Chinoises, p. 38. They
 lengthen the creed, said the Abbé Boileau, and shorten
 the decalogue.

■ On the doctrine of probability see any of the writers
 against the casuistry of the Jesuits, particularly the fifth
 and sixth letters to a Provincial. The following decision
 of the Jesuit Laimon is cited, letter v. p. 70. “ Un Doc-
 “ teur étant consulté, peut donner un conseil, non-seule-
 “ ment probable selon son opinion ; mais contraire à son
 “ opinion, s'il est estimé probable par d'autres, lorsque
 “ cet avis contraire au sien, se rencontre plus favorable, et
 “ plus agréable à celui qui le consulte. Mais je dis de
 “ plus, qu'il ne sera point hors de raison, qu'il donne à
 “ ceux qui le consultent, un avis tenu pour probable par
 “ quelque personne sçavante, quand même il s'assureroit
 “ qu'il seroit absolument faux.”

trine

trine of the order that whoever was detected in profligacy might commit murder to avoid discovery ; and, where princes resisted its ambition, it is suspected of having stimulated the assassin, and convicted of the attempt to palliate his guilt ".

Whatever theory of morals may be adopted, we cannot but be shocked at the enormity of these sanctions. It is an insult to the best and justest feelings of our nature to pause ere we condemn such flagrant errors ; or to suppose, even for a moment, that either the dignity of virtue can be sustained by them, or real utility promoted. The partial interests to which dissimulation, perjury, and perhaps murder may seem conducive, have no tendency to the furtherance of Christian truth. Those practices, that seem to be the nearest road to present greatness, often diverge widely from the path of lasting security ; and the general consequences of insincerity and fraud are always evil, however the present effect may seem to be expedient.

We must allow, indeed, that tenets so impious as those which have been recited could not be universal ; nor ever willingly acknow-

" See Appendix XVIII.

ledged by the greater part of the individual members of the society°. It is impossible that so numerous a body, distinguished for its learning and exemplary in moral conduct, could have adopted into ordinary use that licentious casuistry which has been often so completely exposed, even in its most avowed and favourite writers. Many who may have feared to question the authority on which it rested, must have been reluctant to admit its truth. Many must have limited their acquiescence by modifications not the less real in practical effect, because inconsistent with the doctrines to which they were joined, and goodness of the heart may have counteracted perversion of the understanding^p.

It may seem strange, perhaps, that the latitude of principle and enormity of ambition, by which the order was characterized, should

° “The lax metaphysics of the Jesuits were the effect rather of a bad dialectic, than of a corrupted heart, and generally pervaded the scholastic system of theology.” Chalotais, p. 54. 138.

^p Nam qui summum bonum sic instituit ut nihil habeat cum virtute conjunctum, idque suis commodis, non honestate metitur, hic, *si sibi ipse consentiat et non interdum naturæ bonitate vincatur*, neque amicitiam colere possit, nec justitiam nec liberalitatem, Cic. de Off. i. 1. The exception operates most extensively.

have

have been attended with no corresponding laxity in the moral conduct of individual Jesuits. But with the reproach of immoral lives they are not justly to be branded¹. Attached to the greatness of their society with more than the usual warmth of partizans, their ambition may partly have secured them from ordinary temptations. Their zeal for the appearance may have been favourable to the practice of virtue. The ages also, in which they flourished, were far from being similar to those in which insolent ecclesiastics could bid defiance to the restraints of decency, confiding in the blindness of the people, or safe from its indignation. The gates of knowledge were now at length unbarred, to be shut, we hope, no more; mankind had learned to reason and to judge; and, where the fruits of piety were wanting, could be no longer deceived by its pretence. Had not the flagitiousness of the institute of the Jesuits been in some measure redeemed by the correctness of their personal behaviour, they could not have made that progress which they really attained in forging anew the chains of superstition: the danger

¹ D'Alembert, p. 46. Chalotais, p. 56, 57. Villers on the Reformation. (Mill's translation, p. 156.)

with

with which they threatened mankind would have been less alarming, because their power would have been less extensive. Individuals were loved, even where the order was most detested ; a phenomenon far from being unusual in the page of history. In some cases, a useful institution has been abused by wicked men : in others, even good men have been deceived and prejudiced by a corrupt institution. The semblance of virtue is attached to the zeal of party, and, where the odium of injustice is divided among a multitude, the salutary restraint of reputation but faintly operates. The character, in truth, of the order is too plainly stamped to be confounded with that of the individuals of whom it was composed. Reproached during every age of its existence with the same crimes, involved in quarrels and intrigues in all countries, it exhibited not the various errors to which individuals are variously inclined by the operation of different motives, but the consistent iniquity of system. Its history exemplifies the artifice and ambition of its constitutions : its practice is the interpretation of its casuistry.

The influence of the Jesuits propagated by means the most crafty and indirect was publicly notorious in every Christian court which adhered

adhered to the Romish persuasion, within thirty years after their first institution. They fomented rebellion in France, and excited conspiracy in England. In that country they succeeded not in procuring an establishment without frequent and ignominious discomfiture; in this, to our unspeakable benefit, they were completely baffled. To investigate their artifices in these or in the other kingdoms of Europe, would lead to a series of observations too extensive to be comprised in ordinary limits. Seconded by the sure bigotry of ignorance, their ambition was attended with almost uniform success, throughout all the regions of Papal superstition. Yet it seems worthy to be mentioned, that Portugal, from the imbecillity for which that state has been so long remarkable, was more completely subjugated than any other nation to their authority; and that they were in no instance opposed with so firm and at the same time so temperate a resistance, as by that enlightened and patriotic citizen of Venice, whom every lover of truth and liberty must delight to venerate and applaud^r.

Such, however, at length, and so formidable became their power, that the allegation of

^r See Appendix XIX.

those

those who taxed them with aspiring to universal monarchy may not, perhaps, be altogether groundless. As the educators of youth, and the confessors of Princes, they acquired a dominion more dangerous and, perhaps, more flattering than civil or military despotism¹. Implicit servitude to the Pope was the pretence on which they obtained their primary institution; and they asserted, amid the light of reviving literature, those arrogant pretensions of the Romish see which had been scarcely tolerated even in the days of darkness¹. They assumed an independance of all

¹ “ L’ambition d’avoir des disciples, la plus forte peut-être de toutes les ambitions.” Siècle de L. XIV. ii. 256.

² “ Habet (summus Pontifex) supremam et amplissimam potestatem jurisdictionis temporalis super omnes principes: potest deponere reges, eosque regnis suis privare, legesque eorum infirmare: idque non solum censuris ad id cogendo, sed etiam pœnis externis, ac vi et armis. Molina de just. et jure, cited Jesuites Criminels de Leze-majesté, 12mo. à la Haye, 1759. p. 4. note (5). See ibid. p. 5. note (9). “ Potest (Papa) mutare regna et uni auferre atque alteri conferre.” Bellarmin, cited Chalotais, 64. “ Papa deponit Imperatorem propter ipsius iniquitates, et dat principibus curatores quando ipsi fuerint inutiles ad regendum subditos. Papa sine consilio deponit Imperatorem, quia Papæ et Christi unum est tribunal.” “ Papa potest deponere reges non solum propter hæresim aut schisma, aut aliud crimen tolerabile
“ in

national or local ordinances", and condescended not, at length, to reverence even the anathemas of Rome*. They sought to conciliate popularity, as occasion might direct, either by exercises of mortification or pomp of ceremony. They allured some by patronage, they terrified others by menaces of persecution. They retained a uniform spirit both in the baseness of stooping to the great, and in the arrogance of trampling on the little. Conscious of their numbers, and their strength, the individual members seemed to share in the im-

"in populo, sed etiam propter insufficientiam." Propositiones extractæ ex libro Santarelli, prop. 3, et 8. See Jesuites Criminels, p. 85. and, for the history of the book of Santarellus, Dom. Inigo, ii. 73. et Monarchie des Solipfes, 60.

"Nemo ex Professis vel coadjutoribus, vel etiam scholasticis societatis, in causis civilibus, nedum criminalibus, se examinari, sine licentia superioris, permittat. Superior autem eam minime dabit, nisi in causis quæ ad religionem Catholicam pertinent." Const. cited Hist. Gen. des Jes. iv. p. 76.

On an aggression of the Indians of Paraguay in 1719, which was headed by a Jesuit, the king of Portugal makes his complaint, not to the king of Spain, but to the General of the Jesuits, of whom in return it is justly said, "qu'il traitoit de souverain à souverain." Hist. du Paraguay sous les Jesuites par Echavarri, i. 148, 149.

* See Appendix XVI. p. 28, 29.

portance

portance of the society. Each of them was protected by the power, and armed with the united vengeance of the whole^r.

Such is the complete harmony with which the history and constitutions of the Jesuits correspond. I reserve it for my concluding discourse to show that the indirect and crafty policy, thus stamped both on their constitutions and their history, has eventually contributed to their destruction, as I before proposed to defer in the same manner the similar observations which may be made on the result of the Papal tyranny and corruptions. There is the greater reason, in the present instance, for postponing such observations, because the particular examples of the conduct of the Jesuits, to the examination of which I shall proceed, in the interval, cannot but reflect light on their general character, and enable us therefore the more accurately to perceive the manner in which that character may have operated. I

“ *Hac indissolubili charitate munita societas terribilis fit ut castrorum acies ordinata.*” F. Retz, General, cited Echavarri, i. 333. “ Il n’y a point de Jesuite qui ne puisse dire, comme cet esprit malin de l’écriture, ‘ Je m’appelle légion.’ ” D’Alembert, *Essai sur la destruction des Jesuites*, p. 43. See *Reflexions d’un Portugais*, p. 104. London, 1760.

shall

shall conclude at present with such remarks as may be necessary to show that the ambition and the sophistry of these professors of Christianity afford no argument against Christianity itself, but rather illustrate and confirm its truth.

Now though such abuses as those which have been recited have often been alleged triumphantly, by the enemies of our religion, with the indignant taunt, "Behold the influence, behold the chosen ministers of the Christian faith;" yet inferences to the disadvantage of a religion from the vices of its professors are not more just than to decry benevolence, because its pretence may be assumed as a cloak to maliciousness. If the holy name by which we are called has been profaned for the purposes of ambition, what virtue has ambition scrupled to violate? If the enthusiasm of religion have prepared the cords and kindled the fire of persecution, justice also has sometimes degenerated into cruelty, and fortitude into revenge.

Could it be proved, indeed, that the despotism of the Jesuits is countenanced, or their casuistry authorised by the real principles of Christianity, we would be ready to unite with our adversaries, and to demand with them
that

that the religion be at once rejected. But we abandon not our hopes without examination; we faint not at the boldness of the charge; we demand the process of trial, and we challenge scrutiny. The religion of Protestants is the doctrine of Christ. We refuse to acknowledge whatever is not to be proved by the certain warrant of Scripture: and we willingly hold ourselves responsible to show that no charge of inconsistency with divine wisdom, of insincere and indirect ambition, of really unwise, though apparently politic compliance with human error, can be established against that holy Institute.

To those persons, therefore, who, justly abhorring the excesses of Jesuitical impiety, are inclined to attribute to Christianity itself the guilt of those excesses, we confidently oppose, not the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, not the miracles of Loyola; but the total inapplicability of those objections which may be reasonably entertained against mistaken or insincere professors of Christianity, to the doctrine, or the example of Christ. Christ uniformly commanded his disciples to be holy as their Father which is in heaven is holy. He never authorised them to compromise truth: never instructed them to palliate falsehood.

hood. He pretended not to a severity of demeanour. He came eating and drinking: he conversed freely with publicans and sinners. The preservation of a conduct perfectly pure and unexceptionable must, to a man thus mixing in the detail of ordinary life, be far more difficult than perseverance even in the extreme of ascetic mortification. But the liberty of Jesus was without spot, as his piety was beyond comparison: his wisdom was unfulled by insincerity, and his zeal unmixed with violence. Utterly remote both from the ancient ferocity of the Zealots², and the modern frenzy of the Anabaptists, he deviated not, on the other hand, into the dogmatism or artifices of Papal or Jesuitical tyranny. There is, in truth, no charge either of vice or error that can be alleged against corrupted Christians, which does not appear doubly glaring, when contrasted with that unstained purity of Christ himself, which is, by the same contrast, the more conspicuously represented to our view.

To distinguish, in this manner, the conduct of Christ from the conduct of insincere or mistaken teachers of religion, is sufficient for the immediate argument which it has been here in-

² Basnage I. vi. 11. Taylor's translation.

tended to illustrate by an examination of the history of the Jesuits. That we may perceive, however, with what accumulated strength and emphasis this distinction may be inferred, it is necessary to pursue the illustration of the Saviour's character not only into its freedom from error, but also into the peculiarity of its excellence. Let us forget, for a moment, those numerous indications of enthusiasm, or of imposture, which have been pointed out in the conduct of corrupted Christians. Let us, for example, suppose the founder of the order of the Jesuits to have merited all those splendid eulogies with which he has been decorated by his followers, or let us select from the records of history whatever favourite character may seem to us most worthy of admiration. We shall still find that the even and unaffected propriety of the virtues of Christ, none of them distorted, and none unreasonably preponderant, discriminate him not only from corrupted and mistaken men, but even from the wisest, and the best. In the contemplation of human virtue, it is rather the splendid excess than the accurate mean that we applaud. The highest eminence of courage is rarely to be found unaccompanied by temerity, nor is the habit of fortitude to be acquired

acquired, unless we encourage the spirit of daring. So also the most prepossessing examples of generosity may be tinged with some mixture of profusion, and many of the most animated exertions of patriotism may violate the precise rules of liberal and enlarged benevolence. Aberrations of this kind are to be pardoned, indeed, and perhaps praised, as productive of more good by increasing the activity, than of ill by transgressing the limits of virtue.

But we admire the virtues of Christ with the most lively interest, though they are none of them exaggerated. As he was superior to the imperfections of our nature, so even in his excellencies he exceeded not that strict and even tenour, which those imperfections alone render it pardonable or proper for man to exceed. His character, though full of strength and meaning, is in nothing extravagant, in nothing disproportioned. He was pious, but not enthusiastic; temperate, but not austere; meek, but not abject; and heroic, but not rash. In the history of the most illustrious of mankind, we can in general readily trace their prominent and striking qualities. But in the character of Christ, though a character positively great, as well as unexceptionably pure, there is no one

L 2

quality

quality which predominates above the rest. All the virtues are so intimately and harmoniously blended, that, to use an appropriate, though obvious metaphor, the whole of their colouring disappears. They are simply and uniformly luminous.

Nor can this union of all the virtues in one perfect character be considered as less singular or impressive, because the several virtues may be thought naturally disposed to coalesce, and the same causes which are friendly to the production of one may, in a similar manner, be supposed friendly to that of all. This supposition may be true in part, but it is not true universally. The causes, which tend naturally to improve the contemplative, are not calculated to promote the active virtues. The causes which promote the active do not improve the contemplative. No one thing can be more different from another than the education of a philosopher from that of a hero. Calmness and regularity are the nurses of the one : difficulty and distress the energetic preceptors of the other. The different excellencies which we expect from each are the natural results of such different preparations of the mind. We require in the philosopher a cool and uniform tranquillity, and a life occupied in the serene investi-

investigation, or the undisturbed communication of truth. In the hero we look for a certain warmth of temperament, as not less proper than it is natural. We demand, not that he should choose his object of pursuit with sober judgment and philosophical discrimination; but that he should pursue whatever object he may choose with an earnestness and vigour which a philosopher does not possess; with an intrepidity undivided by doubt, and unchanged by misfortune, with contempt of danger and of death.

In Christ, and in Christ alone, are the separate excellencies of these different characters united in their full perfection. It is the exact union of the contemplative and the active virtues which seems to constitute his chief peculiarity. And eminent, in truth, as each of these characters is by itself, little as it is to be expected that they should be found united in the same person, yet we should at least have wanted that full internal evidence of his truth, which we now find in the character of Christ, had they not been united in him. Had he been the hero only, much as we might have admired his fortitude, or his zeal, yet we might justly have demanded the signs of divine

wisdom in him who claimed to be the immediate messenger of heaven.

And though men of mild and studious dispositions seem often to have supposed that a calm and dispassionate tranquillity includes every excellence of the mind, yet, I confess, that something more might reasonably be expected in a perfect example of life proposed not only to the approbation of sages, but also to the imitation of all men. I know not why the hardy and the active should be deemed less essential and important than the retired and contemplative virtues. They may be less characteristic of the philosopher, but they are not less useful to mankind, nor are they less calculated to elevate their possessor above low and selfish passions. It is certain, that they are not less conspicuous in the holy Author of Christianity. However eminent for a philosophical equanimity, he is equally to be distinguished by the praise of an heroic fortitude, and exertions of the most sublime beneficence. Where else is the same combination to be found? Could we even suppose that an impostor or an enthusiast might have disregarded the offer of a crown, or been unmoved by the treachery of a disciple, can it be possible, however,

ever, that possessing this meek and tranquil disposition he should have persisted in a uniform career, from the commencement to the close of his ministry, always firm though never impetuous, never abashed by obloquy, never disconcerted by ingratitude, never forsaken by the dignity which became the son of God.

Or let us advance still one step farther. Let us look upon the Saviour himself as hanging on the cross. Even there the great intention of both his life and death was manifested amid the pangs of dissolution. In that tremendous crisis, when all earthly ambition must be at an end, which so often unnerves the bold, and which, where the heart is not hardened into apathy, must always terrify the impostor, even then the holy Jesus with his dying voice spake mercy and consolation to mankind. As he took human nature upon him for man's salvation, and for man's salvation submitted to a life of suffering, and to be condemned and scourged and crucified; so also, that man might not want the last solemn assurance which he could give, he himself declared, as he committed his spirit into the hands of God, that the work of salvation "was finished." These were the last words which

he spake, as this was the promise which had preceded his coming into the world. This is the victory which he obtained for us by his death ; and which he again confirmed by his ascension into that heavenly kingdom, where he hath prepared eternal mansions for them that love him.

* John xix. 30

S E R M O N VI.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

IT has been shown that the European establishment of the Jesuits was characterized by an indirect and selfish policy altogether opposite to the genuine spirit of Christianity. The profane or injudicious conduct, by which the ecclesiastics of the same order have been distinguished, in regions where the religion of Christ is yet unrecognized by public authority, has not been less remarkable than the intrigues of its partizans, or the sophistry of its casuists in Europe.

The supply of active and enterprising missionaries, for the purpose of promulgating Christianity among infidel nations, was explicitly avowed as one of the most important
objects

objects which were originally proposed by Loyola. Expectation of the services, which might be thus rendered by the Jesuits, may probably have been among the chief inducements which conciliated the Papal approbation to their institute; nor have they been, in reality, deficient either in zeal or industry. Private interests, however, and views of temporal aggrandizement have too often superseded the love of truth; and, even where the simplicity of the Christian doctrines may not have been compromised from indirect motives, it has still been violated by pious error.

Xavier, the canonized Xavier^a, both led the way, and has obtained the most distinguished honours in the missionary career. Though we question not the sincerity of his religious ardour^b, yet the usefulness of his religious exertions may well be doubted. He might be zealous for the conversion, but he understood not the languages of those unlettered Indians whom he attempted to instruct: and, though his admirers have often claimed for him the

^a "Novus Indiarum Apostolus." Bull of Canonization by Urban VIII. Fabric. Lux. Ev. p. 551. ed. Hamb. 1731.

^b His sincerity, probably, is not to be questioned. Yet his zeal seems upon some occasions to have been manifested in a singular manner. See App. XX.

gift

gift of tongues, he seems not himself to have authorised that vain pretension ^c.

The remote and extensive empire of Japan, though it witnessed not the last labours of this intrepid missionary, was the last conspicuous scene in which they were displayed. Here, as elsewhere, he had to lament that he was ignorant of the language of the people. He had no method of communicating his instructions, but through the imperfect, and possibly unfaithful, medium of interpreters ^d. Yet the

^c “Ac si nos linguam calleremus Japonicam, non dubito quin plurimi fierent Christiani.” Faxit Deus, ut eam brevi addiscamus, siquidem jamdudum gustare cæpimus. Quadraginta diebus tantum profecimus, ut jam decem præcepta Japonice explicemus.”

Xaverii Epist. l. iii. ep. v. p. 194. ed. Paris. apud Cramoisy, 1631. See also Benard. i. p. 54, & 99.

^d Benard i. p. 122. The assertion, though very confidently made, that the first Japanese convert of Xavier, who proved afterwards a most efficient assistant to him in his missionary labours, was a culprit who had fled from his country upon the commission of murder, (Dom. Inigo, i. 261. Benard, i. 116.) is of so very invidious a complexion, that, probably, it ought not to be believed. It is a circumstance more likely to be true, and much more important, that he owed his first success to the exhibition of a beautiful picture of the Virgin. “Le monarque idolâtre, charmé de cette peinture, et de la personne qu’elle représentoit, se mit à genoux devant elle, la priant pour quelque Déesse.” (Benard, ibid. 119. Dom. Inigo,

propagation of our religion in Japan seems at first to have been attended with signal success: success too soon interrupted by a persecution unexampled, perhaps, both in severity and extent. If the accounts may be credited which have been transmitted to us by the historian of that country^c, (a writer who is known to have been accurate, where his statements have admitted of verification^d;) it was the temporal ambition of the Jesuits which there caused the subversion of Christianity. The perfect liberty of preaching, which they had at first possessed, was restricted in consequence of their pride and avarice; and the subsequent abolition of the Christian name in those distant islands was inflicted, not by mere tyrannical caprice, but as the punishment of conspiracy^e.

Inigo, 267, 268.) A similar conduct was pursued afterwards in China by Ricci and his successors, (*Le Comte*, 357. *Engl. Tr. Lond.* 1697. 8vo.) and also in Siam. (*Hist. de l'Etablissement du Christianisme dans les Indes Orientales*, 2 vols. 12mo. Paris, an. xi. vol. i. p. 275.)

^c Kämpfer.

^d Niebuhr *passim*.

^e Kämpfer, book iv. chap. 7. and Niebuhr, vol. iv. p. 30. & seqq. (*Eng. Tr.* 8vo. 1796.)

There seems to have been a general suspicion throughout India, (in some degree, it is probable, founded upon fact,) that the missionaries exercised the office of European spies

From Japan, our attention may easily be directed to the neighbouring continent of China, and it is here that we must look for the most notorious instances of insincerity in Jesuit missionaries. Here too they may be viewed advantageously, in that light by which the argument of these lectures is most properly to be contemplated, as influenced not so much by indirect motives as by partial conceptions ; as guided by a confined, not by a consistent and real policy. The history of the compliances of the Jesuits with certain rites of the Chinese, which are idolatrous in appear-

ances as well as that of Christian teachers. (Hist. de l'Et. du Christianisme, i. 6.) The Jesuits themselves, it is said, told the emperor of Japan that the king of Spain made use of monks to convert the natives of America, and then sent troops to join with the new converts. If this be true, they do not seem to have observed, very consistently, the maxim, " Qu'il étoit nécessaire de n'établir l'autorité du Pape que peu à peu, pour ne point effaroucher les princes convertis, et pour les attirer peu à peu par cette tolérance." Vie de P. Paolo, par Courayer, p. xli. " The king of Siam interrogated the French bishops on the authority of the Pope, and they carefully informed him of the great gifts which Constantine and his successors had given to the Church, and to the holy See. This conversation seemed to please his majesty much." Hist. du Christianisme, li. 185. See also La Croze, Christ. des Indes, p. 270.

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ance, was once familiar, though it is now nearly obsolete. The propriety of tolerating these rites in Christians was warmly controverted, at the beginning of the last century, throughout the whole of Europe; and though this question has been succeeded by discussions of more immediate interest, its records still exist, even in a fatiguing multiplicity, from which the circumstances, to be here stated, may be collected on the most authentic evidence, and usually, in all essential particulars, from the writings of the Jesuits themselves.

It is not to be denied that the very considerable progress of Christianity in China, during the latter part of the sixteenth, and the whole of the seventeenth centuries, is chiefly to be referred to the activity of these missionaries. Favoured by the great, and admitted to the confidence of the emperor, they acquired a personal importance, which long enabled them to promulgate their doctrines with more than usual advantage. Their study of influence, their love of science, their concern in secular and military business, and the interests of private commerce, have proved topics of bitter reproach on which their adversaries have frequently enlarged. An attention, however,

ever, to such pursuits is scarcely a proper subject for reprehension, unless it may seem to oppose the interests, and abuse the liberty of religion. Had they only facilitated the introduction of European arts and European liberality by conciliating patronage and respect to mental superiority, they would have rendered, by this alone, an important service to Christianity; for long experience will warrant the observation, that the Christian doctrines have been the most sincerely professed, and the most conscientiously regarded, where the mind has been humanized by arts, and fortified by knowledge.

Nor, indeed, is remissness to be imputed to the Jesuits in the immediate business of their missions. They were not silent in preaching the name of Christ, and their efforts, sometimes facilitated by patronage, though sometimes retarded by persecution, extended the profession of that sacred name throughout every district of the empire. The real benefit, however, which has been derived from their proselyting assiduity, cannot justly be appreciated, till the nature has been examined of those accommodations to the existing manners and prejudices of China, which they were prevailed upon to
allow,

allow, though, by their own confession, they were desirous to abolish ^b.

There is a popular idolatry in China, to which the vulgar are principally attached^c. There is a sect which believes in and pretends to practise magic, and another, which is usually stiled the sect of the men of letters^d. The ceremonies so much disputed ought certainly not to be confounded with the popular idolatry. It appears, however, that rites are practised by the Chinese expressive of veneration for the heavens; and that honours are offered to the souls of their deceased parents and ancestors, and to the memory of Confucius, in which the sects, termed the magical, and the lettered, unite with the idolatrous. These seem to be the only ceremonies, the observance of which is particularly enforced either by custom or law^e,

^a See the Letter of Grimaldi to the Pope, No. i. Appendix XXII. "Nunquam permisimus, licet non ita stricte prohibuerimus." Father Brancati, cited, Lettre de M. Louis de Cicé, Evêque de Sabula, aux RR. PP. Jésuites, p. 23.

^b The religion of Fo.

^c Le Compte, 321—323, 337.

^d Gobien, "Histoire de l'Edit de l'Empereur de la Chine, en faveur de la religion Chrétienne : avec un éclaircissement

and may be considered, therefore, as the most essential part of the national religion.

It is contended by the Jesuits, though in opposition to the most credible evidence, that by the adoration of the heavens, the Lord of the heavens is intended to be worshipped^m, and that it is a remnant of that pure theism which they suppose to have existed in China even from the earliest timesⁿ. It is probable, indeed, that in China, as in other countries of which we have more particular accounts, the idolatry of the vulgar was interpreted by the learned into a more philosophical credence. We have reason to think that they, who were shocked by gross idolatry, explained the ho-

“ cissement sur les honneurs que les Chinois rendent à Confucius et aux morts. Paris, 1698, p. 227.”

^m See No. II. Appendix XXII. p. 54, 55.

ⁿ Le Compte, p. 312, &c. These accounts, however, are manifestly unworthy of credit. (*Lettres de MM. des Missions Etrangères au Pape sur les Idolatries et sur les Superstitions Chinoises*, 12mo. pp. 99—106, 110, 111.) Perhaps a stronger presumption than any which the Jesuits have produced, for the ancient purity of worship among the Chinese, may be derived from the application of the word *αθεοι* to that people by Celsus; (Burnet, Arch. p. 19.) which, could Celsus be any authority respecting so distant a nation, might be held to infer a freedom from gross idolatry.

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mage, or the devotions in which they joined, as being rendered to the natural virtue, or inherent divinity, which was manifested in the heavens; that they held doctrines not greatly differing from the pantheistic notion of the universal soul^o, an opinion, of which it may be observed, as was intimated on a former occasion^p, that, though it avoid the name, it may be charged with the consequences of atheism. Still, however, it must have been the religion of the ignorant to worship the visible and material heavens^q. It is no vindication of idolatry, that it is capable of being allegorically explained.

The mode of reception, indeed, among the Jesuits themselves, of tablets^r, which bore this inscription, "Adore the heavens," is symptomatic of its doubtful interpretation. The use of these tablets they were unwilling to adopt, though they feared to decline, and they asserted its innocence with an anxiety which seems to intimate distrust. At length, however, they overcame their scruples; they introduced these

^o Le Comte, p. 338, Lettre de MM. des Miss. Etr. p. 47.

^p Sermon II. p. 34.

^q Nil præter nubes, et cœli numen adorant.

^r See Appendix XXI.

tablets

tablets by the side of the sanctuary, and afterwards on the altar itself'. The religious of other orders acceded at first to the same practice, on the authority, and after the example of the Jesuits, but with more precaution. They feared that its offered defence might not be altogether valid, and suspected that it might still conceal the secret poison of idolatry. They explained and they protested that they might purify and correct its malignity, till at length they became ashamed of their weakness, and rejected it altogether with late but manly resolution. †.

The ceremonies which are practised by the Chinese, in honour of their deceased parents and ancestors, take place some before and others after interment. The first consist chiefly in offerings of flowers and perfumes, in burning of tapers, and in prostration of the body before a table, on which is placed either the image or picture, or a tablet inscribed with the name of the deceased. After interment, these and additional rites are repeated at stated intervals. The images or tablets before mentioned are preserved in buildings or apart-

† Lettre de MM. des Miss. Etr. p. 43.

† Ibid. 44.

ments, reserved in every opulent family for this single purpose. In families not so considerable as to possess separate buildings or apartments, which can be secluded from ordinary use, some particular part of the house is appropriated to these venerable memorials. The products of the Spring and Autumn are set before them with the due solemnities of prostration, and of incense; and annual processions are instituted to the places in which the bodies of the dead are buried, and wine, and meat, and fruits are offered on their tombs^a.

Such is the most specious account of these ceremonies which their principal defender in Europe has been able to produce. It may be added, on undoubted authority, and, so far as relates to the practice of many among the unconverted Chinese, it seems not to be denied^x; that the tablets which have been represented as inscribed with the name of the deceased are intitled also, “the seat of the spirit” of him whose name they bear; and that, according to the formal rituals of the country, the departed soul is implored, not without the

^a Gobien, 223—6. See also Questions à proposer à la sacrée Congrégation. Lettre de Messieurs des Missions Etrangères, p. 81—85, &c.

^x Gobien, 227.

sacrifice of animals, and the libation of wine, to descend and repose itself in these seats and stations; is invited to accept, and to partake of the offerings to its memory, and intreated to gratify the particular desires, and to relieve the temporal wants of those who pray to it'.

The ceremonies of the Chinese in honour of Confucius were of a similar kind. They prostrated themselves either before his image, or a tablet which bore his name. They immolated victims to his honour, in temples dedicated by the asperision of the blood of animals: they prepared themselves by fasting and continence for the exercise of these solemnities. The name, which was engraved on the gate of the temple of Confucius, was engraved also on all the temples of idols. The term made use of to denote the sacrifice offered to him is the same

' Lettres de Mess. des Missions Etr. p. 69, &c. Dom. Inigo, i. 317.

" Nam et a primordio ludi bifariam censebantur sacri et
" funebres, id est Diis nationum et mortuis. Sed de ido-
" lolatria nihil differt apud nos sub quo nomine et titulo,
" dum ad eosdem spiritus perveniat, quibus renuntiamus,
" licet mortuis, licet Diis suis faciant. Proinde mortuis
" suis ut Diis faciant, una conditio partis utriusque est,
" una idololatria, una renuntiatio nostra adversus idolola-
" triam." Tertullian de Spectaculis, cap. vi. §. 3.

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which

which is used by the Jesuits themselves, to signify the august sacrifice of Christ : and, in the more solemn festivals, after he has been invited to descend, a minister of the temple exclaims aloud, “ The spirit of Confucius is descended : ”

These ceremonies, of which to Europeans at least it could not be denied that they bore the semblance of idolatry, the Jesuits defended in the Chinese proselytes, as justifiable by the known fact that the Chinese were an extremely ceremonious people ; that, in the common intercourse of living persons among them, prostrations were extremely common ; and that the meaning attached to such prostrations was no other than is attributed by Europeans to the common intercourse of civility, and transgressed not the bounds of grateful remembrance, and of decent respect^a. Yet to offer sacrifices, to burn

^a ^z Le Compte, Lettre au Monseign. le Duc de Maine, cited 1^{re} Lettre sur les Cérémonies Chinoises, p. 19. Lettre de MM. des Miss. Etr. p. 23, 26, 64—66. Etat de la Question. Ibid. p. 135, 6. Gobien, Ecclaiircissement sur les honneurs, &c. Hist. de l’Ed. p. 221. Cicé, Lettre aux Jesuites, p. 17, 21, 22. 2^{de} Lettre sur les C. C. p. 6.

^a See Gobien, p. 219, 229. The ceremonies, however, of idolatry do not seem to be the more excusable because offered to a living person. “ The emperor of China,” like the Roman emperors, “ is in the habit of being wor-
“ shipped

incense, to bury the skins and the blood of victims that they may not be profaned^b, to invoke the power of the dead, and to fall prostrate before the image of Confucius, seems to admit of no other possible interpretation than that of religious worship. It must also be observed, that, in some instances at least, the image of Confucius was placed in the same temple with idols of acknowledged Paganism, and received from the vulgar a similar adoration^c. If, then, the adoration of those Pagan idols was of a religious nature, the meaning of the same ceremonies must have been religious also, when offered to the images or symbols of Confucius. Could this be for a moment

“shipped as a god.” Van Braam’s Embassy, vol. ii. 223. Engl. Tr. 8vo. 1798. Mr. Van Braam, on one occasion, seems to have worshipped him.

I shall subjoin, in the Appendix XXII. certain papers of unquestionable authenticity, in which the Jesuits attempt to defend their accommodations to the Chinese ceremonies. They will be here cited from the first volume of Salmon’s Modern History, London, 1728. 8vo.

^b I. Lettre sur les Cérémonies Chinoises, p. 8.

^c “Hujus Dei (Confusii scil.) statuæ variæ quoque sunt, aliæ in templis prægrandes, aliæ parvæ, &c. * * * * *. A dextris assistit (by the side of the idols “Fo and Laokien) celeberrimus ille inter numina pariter “relatus Confusius.” Kircher, China illustrata, fol. 132. 136. See the Print, p. 137.

doubtful, the question has been decided by the Jesuits themselves. Had they been really convinced that the ceremonies which they tolerated were purely civil, why did they instruct their converts to avoid the practice of these ceremonies whenever it was not indispensable^d? The aversion thus intimated implies a doubt, at least, of their propriety. Why, if they held as innocent the ceremonies of prostration and of burning perfumes before the venerated tablets of the Chinese, why did they assert the expediency of adding to those relics either an image of Christ, or a cross, or a tablet inscribed with the name of Jesus, whether to share the worship, or to sanctify the adoration^e?

It must be observed, also, that, allowing the utmost weight to the apologies of the Jesuits, the ceremonies which they tolerated as innocent were of the same kind, and differed in degree only from those which they reprobated as idolatrous. This circumstance alone may prove the invalidity of their defence; for,

^d Dilucidationes pro Soc. Jesu. Lettre de MM. des Miss. Etr. p. 35. Gobien, p. 220, 309.

^e Gobien, 281, 282. Lettre de M. de Cicé, p. 30. See Appendix XXIII.

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though it be granted that where there is no suspicion of idolatry, great latitude may safely be permitted in the expressions of respect both to the living and the dead, yet in a country where it is notorious that an avowed adoration is paid by avowed idolaters to the material heavens, to the souls of the dead, and to the spirit of Confucius; it is undeniable that the ceremonies of prostration before images, the burning of incense, and the apposition of wine must have partaken of the nature of idolatry.

With a distinction, however, which scarcely could have been expected, the Jesuits admitted that these ceremonies and others of the same description were of a superstitious and idolatrous nature, when practised by those persons who believed the popular religion of the Chinese. They doubted not that an idolatrous meaning was attached to them by idolaters. When practised, however, by the learned among the Chinese, whom they accounted atheists, or by the Christian converts whom they considered as untainted with idolatry, they pronounced the same ceremonies to be innocent^f. They inferred, probably, upon the

^f II. Lettre sur les Cérémonies de la Chine, p. 17. and the decree of the congregation de Propagandâ, recited in the

principles of their usual casuistry, that as the intention constituted the culpable part of idolatry, and as all ceremonies, by which a confidence in false gods was not intended to be expressed, were of a nature purely civil ; therefore all external acts which, it might be presumed, were adopted solely for the purpose of a compliance with existing laws and institutions, might safely be allowed. The fact which they assume is questionable in itself. It is certain that neither professed nor real unbelief of any particular religion, or of religion in general, is by any means a preservative from superstition. Many who disbelieved the popular idolatry might still annex some meaning to the rites in which they joined, and it is supported by unimpeachable evidence that the atheistical philosophers of China did believe that there existed a certain virtue in the offerings to the deceased^s. But admitting to its

the *Lettre de MM. des Missions Etrangères*, p. 162. and *ibid.* 179. So also the Jesuits reasoned in India. “ *L’usage de ces cendres est superstitieux pour les Gentils, me repondit alors brusquement l’Eveque, mais non pas pour les Chrétiens qui ont une autre intention.*” Norbert, *Mem. Hist. sur les Missions des Jesuites*, vol. ii. p. 409. ed. Besançon, 1747, 4to.

^s *Lettre de Mess. des Miss. Etr.* p. 79, 80.

utmost

utmost extent the supposition of such an unmeaning and merely ritual conformity, on which this singular defence is rested, yet, if such insincerity be allowed to the professors of Christianity, in what province of falsehood are the boundaries of hypocrisy to be fixed? Where can the distinction between idolatry and the Christian religion, a distinction always necessary to be made striking to those to whom the Christian religion is proposed, where can this distinction be pointed out, nay, how can it exist, if ceremonies to which an idolatrous meaning is annexed by idolaters, are allowed to professing Christians, living in the very midst of known idolatry? It is not possible that any explanatory qualification can apologize in the one case for practices which are indefensible in the other. Why, likewise, if it may be permitted to a Chinese to comply with the idolatries of the vulgar, because he affixes to them himself no meaning, and uses them only from civil and political, not from religious motives, why were not the infidel philosophers of Greece and Rome, who though they did not believe in, yet sacrificed as citizens to the recognized deities of their country, permitted by the primitive teachers
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of Christianity to continue their oblations on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo^b ?

To refer, however, to the practice of the first age of Christianity, exhibits an immediate contrast to the labours of the Jesuits in China, too strong to require a particular exposure. In the early history of the church we have the testimony of heathens, that the converts to our religion were ready to die rather than offer

^b A similar permission to retain the practice of Mahometan rites is said to have been given by the Jesuits to the Christian converts in the island of Chios.

“ Le célèbre P. Serry avoit avancé dans la Défense du
 “ Jugement rendu par le saint Siege sur les idolatries Chi-
 “ noises, que les Jesuites de l’isle de Chio dans l’Archi-
 “ pel y permettoient à leurs pénitentes l’exercice extérieur
 “ de la religion Mahométane, pourvu qu’elles conser-
 “ vassent dans l’intérieur la foi en Jesus Christ : que ces
 “ Peres y administroient en cachette les Sacremens à di-
 “ verses femmes qui vivoient dans cette dissimulation cri-
 “ minelle, et que cet abus impie fut découvert in 1694.
 “ Les Jesuites s’étant inscrits en faux contre cette accusa-
 “ tion, l’Archevêque de Corinthe, qui étoit sur les lieux
 “ lorsque il avoit fait cette découverte, la confirma par une
 “ déclaration du 4 Juin, 1710, ce qui fut aussi attesté par
 “ d’autres déclarations.”

“ Voyez cette déclaration en entier dans une brochure
 “ intitulée, Le Mahométisme toléré par les Jesuites dans
 “ l’isle de Chio, et qui parut en 1711.” Hist. Gen. des
 Jes. 3. 48.

fuch

such honours to the statues of the Pagan deities, or of the Roman emperors, as were permitted by the Jesuits to be paid in China to the memory of Confucius, and the symbols of the dead. We have the witness of enemies that, in the first preaching of the Gospel, the scandal of the cross was never concealed through the apprehension of offending either Jew or Gentile; while the Jesuits who preached the glory, and declared the triumph, were often silent on the crucifixion of our Lord:

There is one part, indeed, of the history of the Apostles, which seems to exhibit a peculiar contrast to the conduct adopted by the Jesuits towards the literary sect of the Chinese. Once, at least, in the course of his ministry, St. Paul addressed himself to a learned; to an Athenian tribunal. He wisely adapted to local circum-

¹ Stillingfleet on the Divisions of the Romish Clergy: Works, v, 169. Lettres Provinciales, p. 61. In Fleming's Christology (vol. ii. p. 18—21. cited Millar, ii. 291—293.) is a long detail of the military pomp, the regal and archangelic magnificence with which the Jesuits of China asserted the coming of Christ to have been attended. The stable at Nazareth is entirely forgotten, and it is said that when at length our Saviour “took his leave of Peter” and his bishops, he went to heaven with his army in “the same glorious and triumphant manner in which he came.”

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stances the mode in which he declared the existence of the Supreme. He alluded to a received theology : he quoted a philosophical poet. Had he proceeded to expatiate on the harmony which constituted the essence of the divinity, or the indolent security in which it reposed, the Academic and the Epicurean might have approved the ingenuity of his harangue. But the incredulous was dismayed and the sceptic revolted, when the preacher urged the important but unpopular doctrines of repentance, resurrection, and judgment. " Some " mocked, and others said, We will hear thee " again of this matter." The apparent repulse, however, was attended with a real progress, which speculations of a nature more conciliating to the prejudices of his hearers might not have obtained. " The apostle departed from among them. Howbeit certain " men clave unto him, and believed."

Every thing that can be granted to the explanations and apologies of the Jesuits, respecting their accommodations to the rites and prejudices of the Chinese, is this only, that their reasoning may have a partial weight before a Popish tribunal, which with Protestants it does not possess. It cannot be denied that the ceremonies offered by the Chinese to the
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memory of Confucius, and to the souls of the defunct, have a parallel in the invocations of the Romish saints^k. The only difference which can be urged is, that the honours, which in the one case are rendered to Heathens, are in the other rendered to Christians: a difference in the object, but not in the nature or guilt of the idolatry; certainly not in its absurdity, for it would be a vain attempt to degrade the great philosopher of China, though a Heathen, to a level with most of those names which fill the Roman martyrology^l.

The propriety, however, of allowing Christians to practise the Chinese ceremonies, when first it was referred to Rome, was negatived without reserve^m. During the rage of

^k “ Nous n'avons pas plus de raison d'accuser d'idolatrie les cérémonies Chinoises envers Confucius et les morts, qu'en auroient les Chinois de condamner d'idolatrie nos prosternemens devant les images des saints.” Le Comte, cited 1^{re} Lettre sur les Cérémonies Chinoises, p. 11. It may be observed also in Letter 2. p. 20. to what difficulties the Roman Catholic adversaries of the Jesuits are reduced by the Popish worship of images.

^l Was this the opinion of the Jesuits when they declared Confucius to have died *en odeur de sainteté*?

^m See the decree of the congregation de Propagandâ, confirmed by Innocent X. in 1645. It is recited in the
“ Etat

the succeeding controversy, the Popes, as they were friendly or adverse to the interests of the Jesuits, either openly condemned or indirectly protected the compliances which have been recited. At length, however, a just sense of their enormity seems consistently to have pervaded the Papal councils; and legates were repeatedly sent from Rome to China, partly to endeavour to gain the emperor's consent to the toleration of pure Christianity, partly to declare that Christians were never to be permitted to join in the disputed ceremoniesⁿ.

"Etat de la Question," subjoined to the *Lettre de Mess. des Miss. Etr.* p. 162. The Pope declared upon this occasion that the suspected ceremonies ought not to be permitted, even though the refusal should be attended with the entire extinction of Christianity in China. (*Lettre de MM. des M. E.* p. 11.) For an account of the address with which the Jesuits obtained a partial opinion in their favour from Alexander VII. in 1656, see *ibid.* p. 13. The succeeding Popes postponed the determination of the question from time to time, but their decisions at last seem to have been uniformly opposed to the compliances of the Jesuits. See the decree of Clement XI. in 1710: the bull *Ex illa die*, published in 1715, and the reiterated edicts of Benedict XIV. Norbert, vol. iii. p. 655, 658, 661, &c. and *Hist. du Christianisme*, i. 248.

ⁿ For an account of the embassies from Rome to China of the Cardinal de Tournon in 1705, and of Mezzabarba in 1720, see the notes to De Mailla, *Hist. Gen. de la Chine*,

The Jesuits, though this order proceeded from an authority to which they had promised an implicit obedience, in some instances eluded, in others secretly counteracted it°. They neglected or despised the secular ecclesiastics, by whom the decrees of the Pope were transmitted°. His embassies they exerted all their influence to frustrate, they thwarted and they

Chine, vol. xi. p. 309. & 337. and Norbert, part i. liv. x, xi.

° “The procurators of the society being assembled at Rome in 1711, it was resolved, that, to stop the mouths of those who calumniated the society, a declaration as explicit upon this question as possible should be presented to the Pope. The General accordingly (Tamburini) presented such a declaration, signed by himself, by his four assistants, and by twenty-three Procurators, and it must be confessed that no fuller or more formal protestations could be made of a resolution to submit to the decrees of Clement XI. respecting the Chinese ceremonies, without any contradiction, tergiversation, or delay. Notwithstanding this, the General wrote at the same time to Father Grimaldi, the visitor of the Jesuits in China, and one of the most violent persecutors of Cardinal de Tournon, exhorting him to animate himself in his old age with new courage in defence of the rites of the Chinese, and asserting that the new decree of the Pope was in their favour.” Hist. Gen. des Jes. iii. 46.

° Letter of the Bishop of Nankin, quoted, Reflexions d'un Portugais, p. 46.

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persecuted his legates: they even openly refused obedience to his express commands, asserting, that, had he been better informed, he would have adopted different opinions¹. It is said that at one time they procured, by their influence with the emperor, the banishment of those missionaries, who refused to concur with them in tolerating the ceremonies²; that on another occasion they entered into a conspiracy to change the succession of the crown, and that on the discovery of these intrigues a general persecution of Christianity ensued³.

Had the immediate result of this system of accommodation to the ceremonies of China been as successful as the Jesuits could have wished, its eventual consequence would still, probably, have been far from beneficial. But the revocation of all the privileges, which were accorded to the Christians in consequence

¹ Hist. Gen. de la Chine, ubi supra. "Jamais Rome," says Pere le Comte, "ne decidera rien sur ces missions qui nous oblige: puisque nous pourrons toujours protester aussi bien qu'eux, qu'elle n'a pas été fidèlement informée de la vérité des faits." Le Comte, cited, 1. Lettre sur les Cérémonies Chinoises, p. 63.

² Hist. Gen. des Jesuites, iii. 95, 96.

³ Preface to Jesuites Criminels, p. xvii, xix, xx. See also the avowals of P. Morao, and his sentence of death, ibid. and Norbert, ii. p. 79. note.

of these dangerous concessions, by the same emperor who had first granted them ; and the almost total overthrow of the religion during the reign of his successor¹, is a striking historical exemplification of the almost uniform fate of policy unregulated by truth. Of the Jesuits a few persons, recommended by their knowledge or their services, were retained in the capital of China ; but all their attempts to restore the general toleration of Christianity have proved abortive². They have incurred the disgrace, without having obtained the ends, of falsehood. They have impeded by their disgraceful failure the future propagation of Christianity, while they have so far corrupted its truth and evidence, that they have left no seeds behind, which might take root for future harvest. They trusted for the promotion of the faith to their own political ingenuity, and to the patronage of the court. Thus they fought by a religion of which they had mingled the truth with superstition to supplant a religion altogether superstitious. Now that they have been frustrated in their attempt, all re-

¹ Hist. Gen. de la Chine, vol. xi. note (1) p. 337. and pp. 378, 379. 383. 390, 391.

² See Appendix XXIV.

ference to its history must, in China, be attended with a contemplation of the superstition united with the truth. The attention which is necessary to separate the one from the other is seldom to be expected from the carelessness of an ordinary inquirer. He is repulsed by the first appearance of superstition, and hesitates not to reject the religion with which it is connected. On the other hand, had truth alone been preached, though even truth might have been, for a time, rejected, yet it might have been committed with full security to the silent progress of reason. Even now, perhaps, whilst we are lamenting its temporary disappointment, we might have triumphed in its success. We might have rejoiced that the most populous kingdom of the world had already received in sincerity those consoling doctrines, which, we know by the sure word of God, will eventually be extended even to the uttermost ends of the earth.

The missionaries, it is true, did not perceive the narrowness of their policy. Though they cannot be vindicated from the imputation of having countenanced superstitions of which they saw the error, yet they were not so unprincipled as willingly to sacrifice for partial advantage the general propagation of Christianity.

They

They thought, doubtless, that the indirect compliances which were intended to facilitate its immediate reception, would be conducive to its future universality; an error not surprising in men who were educated in the strictest habits of corporate and religious servitude, and who by the prejudices of their education were incapacitated from perceiving justly the difference between those means which promote the present interests of party, and those which conduce to the ultimate security and success of truth.

Such was the error of the Jesuit missionaries. It has been already asked, and I may be permitted to repeat the question; If Christ was not endued with more than human knowledge, whence could he derive the superior penetration which he evinced? Was it the part of an enthusiast to shake off for the first time the trammels of popular superstition? to foresee, as seems to have been foreseen clearly by the author of Christianity, that speculators on religion would assume in future a novel character, and exact a congruity to the attributes of God, in those institutions where little had been before considered but their adaptation to the prejudices of mankind? Or, if the supposition of enthusiasm cannot be defended, is it to

be imagined that the conduct of an impostor would exhibit the distinction between wisdom and cunning, between real policy and dissimulation? If these hidden truths were in any way, on any supposition whatever, discoverable by a mere man, why were they not discovered by the Romish missionaries? What advantage in point of knowledge could the uneducated son of Mary possess over the most learned order of all the ecclesiastical societies; which the history of fifteen centuries elapsed since the origin of Christianity had instructed not only in political, but still more in religious information? What inducement to dissimulation could have been wanting to Christ, which occurred to the missionaries? the one despised as a Jew throughout the Gentile world, and stigmatized in Judea as a Nazarene: the others protected by the authority, as they acted under the sanction of the Roman Pontiff; revered for intellectual ability, and vain of spiritual power.

The more particularly this question is discussed, the more abundant will be the assurance with which the Christian will be enabled to conclude, that the author of our religion must necessarily have been a messenger from on high. The difficulties are insuperable which
are

are involved by every other supposition. And, indeed, the certain, though, perhaps, unperceived operation of these difficulties extorts even from the adversaries of Christianity a silent evidence of its truth, in that they usually abstain from all detailed examination of the conduct or character of Christ. That they venture not on such an examination because they fear its consequences, I certainly presume not to suppose. We do not deny that the unbeliever may be a sincere inquirer after truth. It is the justness of his opinions that we controvert, not the sincerity with which he holds them. There is a natural bias, even where no fallacy is intended, to oppose the processes of correct and rational analysis by observations of a loose and general kind, by rhetorical amplifications, or by ridicule.

This bias, however, is rarely felt but by the advocate of error: the advocate of truth resorts, naturally, to the methods of strict and particular discussion; and they both, perhaps, adopt, respectively, these different modes of argumentation, unconscious of the causes by which they are influenced in adopting them. Those causes are founded rather in the nature of truth, and in that of error, than in the art of reasoning; but the differences

which they create are for that very reason of the more essential and decisive importance. Though it justifies not the charge of insincerity, it argues, then, some defect, at least, in the conduct of the understanding, to decline the closest and most accurate investigation of a character, which must be allowed even by the unbeliever himself to possess so many claims to our attention as that of Christ. A close and accurate investigation of that character is what the defenders of the truth of Christianity both desire and demand. A presumption, therefore, arises in our favour even from the method of argumentation which we employ. And in prosecuting this method, we are led irresistibly to acknowledge, that the whole conduct of Christ is, in all respects, so thoroughly removed from every imputation of falsehood, that, the more rigid the test to which it is subjected, the more sincere and perfect it is found. It derives every way new excellence and lustre from those strict and certain criteria, by which divine revelation is to be distinguished from enthusiastic error, and truth may be known accurately from imposture.

SERMON VII.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

THE gospel of Christ inculcates no preference, admits of no exclusion, is open both to Jew and Gentile, offers the same salvation to bond and free. No corruption is more repugnant to its spirit than to assume or recognize a difference between man and man, in the favour of their impartial God. Such is the corruption, which the missionaries of the Jesuits have sanctioned in the East, by accommodating the Christianity which they preached to the casts of Brahminical superstition.

The natives of Hindostan, it is well known, have been long divided into orders widely discriminated from each other. Intermarriage and domestic intercourse are forbidden between

tween them all^a. The fifth and lowest of these orders is sunk in a state of degradation unparalleled among mankind. Its very presence is offensive, and its touch pollutes^b. Europeans, by mixing with the wretched outcasts, of whom this last tribe is composed, as with beings of a common nature^c, seem long to have shared in the same contempt with which they were treated. This contempt was a difficulty scarcely to be surmounted by the teachers of Christianity in exercising the mis-

^a Raynal, i. 55. 4to. Geneve, 1780. See the Laws of Menu, translated by Sir W. Jones.

^b Ray. 53. It is not, perhaps, altogether accurate to speak of the Parias as a fifth *cast*, or *tribe*. It is said that, properly, they are to be considered as excluded from all *cast*. As this, however, is a mere question of words, and, particularly, as the precise meaning and varieties of *cast* may be still but imperfectly known, it seems best to adhere to the language of preceding writers. See the Introduction to Orme's History of the War in India. "... des Par-reas; ne voulant pas favoriser la fausse idée des Indiens "à l'égard de cette caste." Norbert, i. p. 12. note. See note (f) to this Sermon. "Harri Cast." Dow's Diff. prefixed to the first volume of the translation of Ferishta, p. xxxii. "Outre ces tribus, il y en a une cinquième "qui est le rebut de toutes les autres." Raynal, 53. "Les hommes de toutes les castes honnêtes." Ibid. 56. "La distinction des quatres premieres castes." Ibid. 38.

^c Ibid. 55.

fionary

fionary office. A nation bigotted to its idolatries, and vain of an hereditary priesthood, to which it attributed a divine origin, was little disposed to hear with impartiality, or to regard with reverence, the religious doctrines of men who conversed freely with persons whom it both hated and despised.

The Capuchins, accordingly, who established the first missions to India, lament uniformly the system of casts among the Hindus, as being the great obstacle to their conversion. It is said never to have been in any degree countenanced by that religious order. The Jesuits, on the other hand, too unreservedly anxious to conciliate the prejudices of Hindostan, consented, though not without some feelings of compunction, to acquiesce in these distinctions^d. To ingratiate themselves with the superior casts, they prohibited the unhappy Pariahs from assembling in the same place of worship^e, and, consequently, from communicating at the same table. The baptismal font, at which the children of the nobler orders were

^d Norbert, i. 9, 10. ii. 228. 295. *Monarchie des Solip-fes*, p. 212, &c. Mickle's *Lusiad*. p. 473. 4to. ed. 1778.

^e Norbert, i. 10, 11. This was the case even at Pondichery. *Ibid.* ii. 414, 416, 417.

admitted

admitted into the Christian church, was never to be profaned by the sprinkling of the same water on the progeny of that detested tribe. The Jesuit missionaries professed the same abhorrence of the defilement communicated by the touch of the Paria, as was testified by the priests of Brahmá. They refused to enter his roof even when he lay at the point of death, either as the messengers of religious consolation, or to administer the Romish sacraments. They refused to see him when sick, unless he was brought to the threshold of his door, and even then made use of instruments to apply the consecrated oil, that their own persons might incur no pollution[†].

Corrupted as is the church of Rome from the purity of the Christian faith, an abuse so glaring as this which has been described could not fail, at least in the eighteenth century, to incur its reprobation. The cardinal Lambertini had long opposed the accommodating po-

[†] Ibid. and ii. 143. iii. 603. It seems that, in some instances, they refused to hold any communication with the Parias but with speaking trumpets. "Et que voulant passer pour brammes, vos missionnaires ne peuvent plus communiquer avec les autres castes, qu'avec des trompettes parlantes." Lettre du gouverneur de Pondichéry au P. Tachard, Jésuite, *ibid.* i. 214.

licy of the Jesuits ^s, and, when elevated to the Papal dignity by the title of Benedict the fourteenth, he condemned their practices formally and without reserve. This crafty order, however, always fertile in expedients, contrived to evade the sentence fulminated against them by a compromise, to which it is surprising that the court of Rome should have at all submitted; to which it is still more surprising that it should appear willingly to have consented. After explicitly condemning the conduct which had been before pursued, the bull issued by Benedict thus proceeds. “It has
“fortunately happened that the missionaries
“of the society of Jesus have promised that,
“with our consent, they will depute a certain
“number of missionaries, whose principal care
“shall be directed to convert and to instruct
“the Parias. As these means appear to us
“sufficient for the end proposed, the conversion and salvation of these persons, we accept them with all the testimonies of a paternal joy, we approve them, and recommend their practice ^h” Who sees not that

^s Norbert, ii. 14, &c.

^h Bull *Omnium Sollicitudinum*, 1744. Norbert, iii. 611.

by

by this permission the grand abuse, which had before existed, is tolerated and confirmed? Christ is still divided. The principal care, which certain missionaries are appointed to bestow on the unhappy Parias, must necessarily, in the circumstances of the case, be exclusive, and the prejudices of the superior casts are sanctioned by acquiescence. It is extraordinary that so gross an inconsistency should have been admitted into a decree of which the general tenour is highly liberal and enlightened, and which proceeds to repeat, in express terms, the undeniable doctrine of the Apostle, that there is no distinction between bond and free among them which are the children of God by faith which is in Christ Jesus¹. It places, however, in a strong light the insinuating policy of the Jesuits, and their invincible attachment to a system of teaching Christianity which was regulated by views of particular expediency.

The four first casts of the Hindus lay claim to a divine origin, as the descendants of Brahmá, and the priests are allowed a high preeminence of dignity^k. The Jesuits, that they

¹ Gal. iii. 26, 28.

^k Raynal, i. 38. Norbert, i. 42. Laws of Menu, translated by Sir W. Jones, i. §. 31.

might

might procure for themselves the same respect, professed themselves to be descendants of the same deity, and assumed the habit of the Indian priesthood. They asserted the title and attributes of European Brahmens, and pretended to exhibit written documents of their establishment in the West, from a period more remote than that which their Asiatic brethren claimed as the date of their institution in the fabulous antiquity of Hindostan. One of the most eminent of the missionaries, on whom the title of apostle seems commonly to have been bestowed, declared by oath to the distrustful Indians, that he himself was descended from their own paternal deity. He embraced the strictest sect of their religion, and exacted a personal homage which scarcely differed from adoration¹.

The Hindus were authorised by the Jesuits

¹ This Jesuit was Nobili. Mosheim, ii. 289. Millar's Prop. of Christianity, ii. 239. Norbert, i. 14. ii. 143. note (a). The Jesuits in India habited themselves as Sannias: they abstained from the flesh of the cow, which, for known reasons, is held sacred by the Hindus: (Norbert, ii. 415. iii. 69.) and it is said, that, jealous of the rival order of the Capuchins, they vilified them as being Europeans of the lowest cast, and refused to eat with them. Ibid. i. 11. note (b), ii. 420.

to

to continue in their profession of Christianity the usage of ashes made from a substance particularly connected with the idolatries of their country, and rubbed on the body with superstitious ceremonies^m. They were even permitted to repeat the customary invocations of heathen godsⁿ. It was usual to frequent the bath only at certain times, and with peculiar ceremonies and prayers. The compliance with these practices was allowed by the Jesuits to their Indian converts, with the reservation, on principles well known in Europe, that they were to direct their intention solely to the physical uses of ablution^o. In the rites of marriage, and of burial, much was tolerated that was decidedly superstitious, more that was of questionable propriety^p. In some instances, also, idolatries were adopted from choice, without even a pretension of necessity. The worship of the Virgin was introduced in India, and was taught to assume a peculiar likeness to that of Pagan idols. A studied reference to Pagan ceremonies was maintained, the musical instruments used in the procession

^m Millar's Prop. of Christianity, ii. 276.

ⁿ Norbert, ii. 241—243.

^o Ibid. i. 46, 47.

^p Ibid. ii. 417.

were

were borrowed from Pagan temples, and the image itself was attired with Pagan ornaments^a.

It is not doubtful that, by such compliances with the prejudices of an ignorant people, a very considerable number of converts to a nominal Christianity might easily be gained^b. It would readily be believed to be a variety of Paganism. Novelty is always prepossessing, when it does not involve a contradiction to received opinions and customs; and the gratification which the Hindus would naturally feel, in seeing the rites of their old religion adopted by Europeans, was not likely to be much impaired by any repugnance to novel explications of their creed, or the concurrent admission of a new worship^c.

^a Norbert, i. 62. ii. 429.

^b Father Royer of Tonquin announces in a letter of Dec. 15, 1707, (*Lettres Edifiantes*, x. 433.) that he had baptized in the course of that year 1077 adults, and 955 children. Norbert, iii. 86. For an account of the rapid progress of the Jesuits in Celebes, see Benard, ii. 60, 61.

^c The vulgar, so long as their practices are not interfered with, are usually very ready to subscribe to the belief of abstract and speculative doctrines, however obscure. (*D'Alembert sur la Destruction des Jesuites*, p. 48, 49.) The absurdity of an opinion may prevent it from retaining a permanent influence in their minds, but seems to be

Conversions, however, such as these were little to be desired. Though they might multiply the congregations of the Jesuits, they could not increase the joy of judicious Christians[†]. If such be the profession of our faith established among the natives of the East, it might be better that they had never known the ways of righteousness. Our God is a jealous God, and will be adored alone". They, who would so lightly take upon themselves the name of Jesus, would abandon it with the same facility. It was, indeed, often proved that they accelerated not the real progress of Christianity, however their numbers might confer an apparent splendour on the reputation of their instructors. As they had never felt the conviction of truth, so they possessed not the fervour of enthusiasm. The inhabitants of Hindostan, in a preceding age, had persevered, with almost unexampled constancy,

no bar to its immediate reception. The fury of the Bacchanals (Liv. l. xxxix. c. 8. et seqq.) or the Anabaptists probably increased rather than diminished the number of their proselytes. "The ordinary Chinese," says Le Compte, "do not boggle at the mysteries."

[†] Norbert, i. 54.

^u Exodus xxxiv. 14. Norbert, ii. 509, 510. See also 2 Cor. vi. 14—16. and Div. Leg. vol. iv. p. 176. ed. 1765.

in

in their adherence to the worship of Brahmá, and, while they patiently submitted to the sword of Tamerlane, refused to acknowledge the creed of Mahomet. The converts of the Jesuits among the same people shrunk, with scarcely an exception, from the test of persecution*, a difference in conduct between natives of the same country, for which no individual distinction of character can be alleged, and which would not have existed, had the teachers of Christianity inculcated the Christian truth, had they studied to promote, not the mere profession of their faith, but the assent of the understanding, and the religion of the heart.

In the missions which were principally conducted by French ecclesiastics, it might be expected, and it will be found, that an honest system was observed, than that which was followed by the natives of other countries more deeply sunk in Papal superstitions. The privileges of the Gallican church contributed to maintain among its members an independence of spirit, and a liberty of judgment, which was exceeded in Protestant communities alone. These privileges, though possessed,

* Benard, Disc. Prelim. p. 34. Norbert, i. 73, 189.

constitutionally, only by the secular clergy, yet contributed to form, generally, a manlier tone of religious sentiment, by which the regulars themselves, from whom the missionaries were usually supplied, were naturally influenced.

Even these missionaries, however, used methods of propagating Christianity less objectionable, indeed, than those which have been related, but still too certainly liable to severe and just animadversion. In fasting, and austerities of the strictest kind, they avowedly contended for preeminence with the priests of idols^y. They abstained from meat purposely to conciliate the approbation of those who were induced, by the peculiar tenets of their superstition, to observe a similar abstinence. In adopting this conduct they pretended to act on the authority of St. Paul^z, forgetful that what, with them, was a compliance with idolatrous opinions, was, with him, precisely the reverse. In the case of the Corinthians, the eating of meat sacrificed to idols, not abstinence from it, was the questionable conduct.

^y Hist. de l'Etabliss. du Christ. i. 173, et seqq. ii. 190.

^z 1 Cor. viii. Benard, i. 70. Hist. de l'Et. du Christ. i.

The abstinence of the missionaries was dictated not by the fear of offending the weaker brethren, but by the hope of conciliating the prejudices of idolaters.

When Christianity has been preached among heathen nations, it has been usual for its teachers to meet with the requisition, "Work miracles, and we will believe." This demand has given rise to frequent miraculous pretensions, and Xavier, in particular, is said to have been endued with the full prerogative of an apostle; to have possessed the gift of tongues; to have cast out devils; to have appeased tempests, and to have raised the dead^a.

The pretensions of the French missionaries to Siam were less assuming. On certain occasions, however, where miracles have been demanded, and promises held out of embracing Christianity, on the exhibition of this sensible evidence of its truth, they profess to have offered successful prayers for the interference of divine agency, or to have recited portions of the Scripture, as the means by which divine assistance might be expected^b.

^a Turfellini vit. Xav. lib. ii. 7. iv. 3. vi. 1—4. Millar's Prop. of Christ. ii. 237. Hist. de l'Et. du Christ. i. p. 1.

^b Ibid. p. 234, 239. This work, indeed, is full of miraculous interpositions. See also Le Compte, p. 363. It

Protestants, we cannot doubt, would have resisted the demand, would have answered, that miracles, though necessarily vouchsafed for the establishment of Christianity, had wisely been withdrawn in later ages; that, where God has already given sufficient evidence of the truth, man has no right to demand additional assurance either in kind, or in degree.

A reply of this nature was not, perhaps, to be expected from the members of a church which is still unwilling to abandon its claim to the continued power of miracles. Yet, though this were a real instead of a pretended power, how different are the manner and circumstances in which it was here exercised, from those which characterize the miracles of the Gospel! These were never performed at the requisition of unbelievers. Christ, though he appealed to the evidence of his miraculous works, refused to submit their exercise to human prescription. Though he arose from the dead, that he might satisfy reasonable doubt, he descended not from the cross either to

would be endless to enumerate the various pretensions to miraculous power which have been made by the more bigotted Jesuits. One of the most ridiculous stories of this kind is related of Anchieta in Brazil. Jouvenci, lib. xxiii. p. 766. cited Benard, liv. iii. §. 43.

humble

humble the pride, or silence the taunts of incredulity. The miracles of Christ and his apostles were given freely, not conditionally : and though bestowed with a merciful condescension to human infirmity of belief, are to be considered not as the price of conversion, but as the reward of faith. This distinction between the manner and circumstances in which the Gospel miracles are said to have been performed, and the manner and circumstances attendant on the more recent pretensions of the same kind, may indicate a difference in truth. It is a refinement, to which, though highly congruous to the dignity of the Supreme, it is not probable that enthusiasts, men usually of confined intellect, should uniformly have adhered. Impostors would have desired no circumstances but such as might conduce to the successful management of their fraud, and, where this was practicable, would have gloried in accepting the challenge of an adversary.

Of this nature was the policy of the Romish emissaries as it respected the Pagan natives of the East. It is now to be considered in its application to very different objects. Among

* See Picart, Engl. Tr. vol. ii. p. 34. note.

the petty kingdoms which composed the southern part of the peninsula of India, there had existed, certainly, from the beginning of the sixth, and, probably, from that of the fourth century, a Christian church considerable for its numbers, and professing to hold the Patriarch of Babylon for its spiritual head^d. Its members, an industrious, acute, and polished people, possessed an allowed superiority over the other natives of the country, who were deeply sunk in superstition^e. Their honesty in commerce and their sobriety of morals were free from all reproach^f. Their religious creed appears in

^d The story of St. Thomas having visited India seems to be completely fabulous. It has been said that Christianity was taught in Malabar by a disciple of Manes. (La Croze, 41, 42.) At the council of Nice, held in the year 325, was present a bishop της εν Περσίδι πασης και τη μεγαλη Ινδια: and Suidas cites an ancient author, who speaks of the inhabitants of the interior of India being baptized in the reign of Constantine the Great. (Ibid. 44.) Cosmas Indicopleustes, who testifies unequivocally the existence of Christians in Malabar, wrote about the year 547. (Ibid. 38.) See La Croze, Christianisme des Indes, and Geddes's account of the Synod of Diamper. The archbishop of Malabar is said to have had suffragans in the island of Socotora, and in China. Thesaurus Epistolicus La-crozanus, vol. ii. p. 15, 16, 20, 21.

^e La Croze, 88, 89.

^f Ibid. 94.

some

some respects to have been perplexed with verbal distinctions, and to have degenerated from apostolic purity of doctrine; but it is to be deemed comparatively pure, when contrasted with the Papal superstitions. They denied not only the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, but also the exclusive principles on which it is founded. The celibacy of the priesthood they did not recognize, the fables of purgatory and transubstantiation they rejected, they condemned the use of images, and abhorred the tyranny of confession^g.

Ignorant of the evils which ecclesiastical usurpation had caused among the western nations, they gladly hailed the European professors of a common faith, to whom the progress of maritime discovery had opened the way to India. We may, indeed, conceive the exultation with which a secluded colony of Christians, who, though they possessed a legal esta-

^g See La Croze, and the account of the Church of Malabar prefixed to Geddès's History of the Synod of Diamper. The Malabrians had no ecclesiastical establishment, and the priesthood did not exclude from secular employ. La Croze, 178. & 181. "Exclusive of the taint of Nestorianism, there was no church previous to the Reformation that had so few errors in doctrine." Geddes, Preface.

blishment

blissment of their religion^b, yet lived under heathen princes, must view the worshippers of the true God, arriving on their coasts from a country scarcely known to them by name, through vast, perilous, and untried oceans. We may imagine also in the hearts of these intrepid strangers a generous expansion and pious joy at discovering the Christian name and worship in these long fought and distant regionsⁱ.

Such natural feelings, if they existed, were soon extinguished. The missionaries, to whose care, on the establishment of the Portuguese power, the propagation of the Papal faith in India was committed, beheld the native Christians, unacquainted as they were with the claims, or unwilling to recognize the authority of the bishop of Rome, not in the light of brethren, but of heretics. They spared neither craft nor violence to conciliate or enforce obedience to that usurping pontiff. They seized, and sent prisoners to Europe, bishops who traced the line of their consecration to the ancient

^b La Croze, 95, 96.

ⁱ The Christians of Malabar claimed the assistance of Vasco de Gama in 1502: and they are said, but I doubt the fact, to have offered themselves as subjects to the king of Portugal. Geddes, p. 3. La Croze, 49, 50.

and

and independent metropolitans of Seleucia^k. They began their preaching with assertions of the exclusive catholicism of Rome; they excommunicated the established priests, and studied to overcome the popular indignation consequent on these enormities by the assistance of Heathen princes^l.

The crafty prelate, who bore the principal share in the temporary reduction of the Malabar to a conformity with the Romish

^k Geddes, p. 12. La Croze, 58, 60, 62. A Jesuit was made bishop of the Serra. Geddes, 44. La Croze, 77. The native priests were permitted to continue the exercise of their functions, solely on condition of putting away their wives, and many were, accordingly, actually deprived of them. Menezes excommunicated two ecclesiastics who refused to comply with this injunction. Geddes, 308. La Croze, 285, 292, 295, 311.

^l Geddes, 93. "Son historien (Giuseppe di S. Maria) "avoue qu'il emploia utilement le pouvoir des rois Gentils; en sorte que par des prisons, des séquestrations de biens, et par d'autres pareilles industries, il gagna beaucoup d'ames, et remit des pais entiers dans le droit chemin. Ce sont les paroles de cet auteur." La Croze, 392, 323. "Ce fut donc une nécessité d'avoir recours aux armes pour la défense de la vérité opprimée. Elle triompha enfin couverte d'une pourpre teinte du sang de ses dévots." The same author cited, *ibid.* p. 403. The Jesuits fomented divisions also among the Christians themselves. Geddes, 20. Just observations on their conduct by a Mahometan chief. *Ibid.* 25. see also p. 28.

church,

church, resolved to strengthen his cause by the approbation of a diocesan synod. This synod he convoked on the pretended authority of Clement the eighth, who then possessed the Papal dignity; and he secured a decision favourable to his views by conferring orders, a short time previous to the assembly, on a great majority of the priests by whom it was composed^m. This act was a violation not only of natural equity, but also of positive engagements; and the persons thus ordained had previously consented to an abjuration of their old religion, and had subscribed the Popish creed. With this commanding influence over some, and with the power of intimidating othersⁿ, Menezes prevailed upon the members of the synod to decree that the ancient books of their religion should be destroyed; none being retained but such as should be corrected by the Jesuits^o. He appointed an alter-

^m Geddes, p. 107. La Croze, 133, 172. A conduct precisely similar had been proposed by Lainés while Vicar General of the Jesuits, during the interregnum which succeeded the death of Loyola. Benard, i. 199.

ⁿ La Croze, 279.

^o Synod of Diamper, by Geddes, p. 134. La Croze, 221. There is an Index Expurgatorius for the use of the Malabar Christians in the fourteenth decree of the third session. Geddes, p. 154.

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ation of the Syriac Scriptures to a conformity with the Vulgate Latin, and committed to the flames whatever monuments of heterodoxy he could collect from the archives of various churches, with a zeal which, if more enlightened, was certainly far less to be excused than that Mohammedan superstition which destroyed the Alexandrian library^p. He imposed on these unhappy regions the whole mass of Popish idolatry and superstition, and implanted among them the inquisitorial tribunal in all its horrors^q.

^p La Croze, 295, 309, 310.

^q La Croze, 247, 280, 359. Menezes in the beginning of his career seems to have maintained a correspondence with the Inquisitor General at Lisbon. Ibid. 72. Geddes, 39, 40. The holy office became afterwards more despotic and oppressive at Goa, than any where in Europe. Giuseppe di S. Maria, on burning the palanquin of the heretical archdeacon of Malabar, seems to have lamented that he could not, at the same time, burn his body. La Croze, 409.

The ostentation of the Romish prelates in India was no less remarkable than their tyranny. In a triumphal procession at Angamalé Menezes seems to have attempted an imitation of our Saviour's entry into Jerusalem. Ibid. 294. "Le Jesuite Gouvea fait ici une réflexion en approuvant fort ces emportemens de Menezes. Il dit que parmi ces infidèles dans des affaires d'importance l'humilité et la modestie ne servent de rien, parceque ces
" vertus

It is certain that by such conduct the eventual interests even of the Romish communion were very far from being consulted. Though its tyranny was awhile supported by the same means by which it was introduced, by artifice in conciliating adherents, and by inflicting on its opposers confiscation, imprisonment, and death, it continued only half a century, and the attempts which were made for its reestablishment were interrupted by the downfall of Portuguese authority on the coasts of Malabar^r.

“vertus leur sont inconnues, et qu'ils n'effiment que
 “l'orgueil et la hauteur.” La Croze, 154. “Cette ostentation, qui a été maintenue par tous les prélats des
 “Indes, est d'elle-même nécessaire parmi une nation barbare, qui ne sauroit se former aucune idée de Dieu, si
 “elle ne voit des pompes et des grandeurs.” Giuseppe di St. Maria. La Croze, 399.

^r Natives of Malabar, though of the noblest families, who had been ordained at Rome, were rejected by their countrymen from the discharge of the clerical office. Geddes, 64. La Croze, 55. See also p. 80. Inferences of the eventual benefit which the Portuguese might have derived from a less violent policy may be collected from La Croze, 351, 366, 367, 411.

They endeavoured on their expulsion to sow the seeds of ecclesiastical dissension in the diocese which they left. Ibid. 415. But though the Roman Catholic forms are still retained by a majority of the Malabar churches, yet
 all

Had the pretensions of the Roman church been less exclusive; had its pontiff been willing to admit the patriarch of Mosul, whose jurisdiction had been so long acknowledged by these Indian Christians, to a participation only of his authority, it is probable that he might have obtained the recognition of his own supremacy. Had the different orders to which the work of conversion was intrusted remained faithful to the common cause, instead of quarrelling on individual interests, their concentrated efforts might have still remained victorious. Had the doctrine, which was espoused by missionary zeal, been truth, not fable, the genuine oracles of Christianity, instead of the

all persecution seems to have ceased ever since the expulsion of the Portuguese. See Appendix XXV.

* *Christianisme des Indes*, Pref. p. xx. Norbert, i. 284, 294. The Jesuits carried the Jansenist controversy even into China. *Lettre de M. de Cicé*, p. 45. A heathen of eminence, it is said, applied to a Capuchin missionary, and professed a desire of being baptized, provided that, after baptism, he should belong to the communion of the Capuchins, and not to that of the Jesuits. It seems that this request could not be granted without the consent of the bishop of the diocese. It consequently was referred to him, and by him to his fraternity, by whom it was negatived. Norbert, ii. 140. See *ibid.* 106, 108.

forged

forged and lying gospels and lives of the Apostles[†], which tended to the establishment not of Christian, but of Papal faith : nay, had it been Popery itself, divested of its most glaring and offensive errors, its teachers might have permanently enjoyed the ascendancy of European genius. These realms of India might have continued to be theirs, might have afforded to them not only a titular episcopacy, but also real power ; and the Roman pontiff might have still consoled himself for the diminution of his authority in ancient Christendom, by reflecting on the new empire which had submitted to acknowledge his prerogative in Eastern regions[‡]. But the shortsighted emissaries of the papacy looked not beyond the actual conjuncture, and sought only for particular resources. Their blindness also to the future disqualified them in many instances from determining justly even for the present ; and they, consequently, experienced, like other disingenuous politicians, that to linger, at critical periods, in the miserable detail of tempo-

[†] See Appendix XXVI.

[‡] Paolo Sarpi, Histoire du Concile de Trent, livre vi, chap. 58. ed. Courayer.

rary expedients, serves only to accelerate impending ruin *.

Though the obstacles thus arising from the insincere and partial methods which have been adopted to promulgate the creed of Rome, both in Pagan and in Christian India, have, hitherto, prevented its farther progress, it is pleasing, however, to reflect that the church of Malabar is still existent, ignorant, perhaps, in comparison of European Christians, but unquestionably sincere in its professions, and unfettered in its independence. And though the extensive plains of Hindostan are divided between the disciples of Mahomet and of Brahmá, the time, assuredly, will come, when a brighter day shall rise on those distant regions, and when the purity with which the gospel of our Redeemer will be preached upon the banks of Ganges, or in the streets of Delhi, shall atone for the corruptions with which it has been long oppressed. I would that the immediate probability of success were equal to that zealous fervour, with which, already, it is said, the Protestant missionaries of

* See Appendix XXVII.

An account of the propagation of Christianity in Abyssinia by the Jesuits may be found in Appendix XXVIII.

Denmark and of Britain have begun to scatter throughout India the genuine seeds of faith¹.

On the specific duties of those persons by whom the governments of India are now administered, or of those to whom the propagation of our religion throughout that vast and populous continent may be hereafter confided, it enters not into the design of these discourses to enlarge. That future missionaries will pursue a conduct less exceptionable than that of their predecessors we certainly have just reason to expect. It is possible also that they may have equal zeal. Still, however, the difficulties which they must necessarily meet with are of so formidable a nature as to preclude those sanguine anticipations of success, which we would wish to entertain, and may perhaps incline us to suspect that the establishment of Christianity in the East is still, by the providence of God, retarded to a distant age².

¹ For accounts of the origin of the Protestant missions to India, see Niecampii *Historia Missionis Evangelicæ in India Orientali*, 4to. Halæ, 1747. La Croze, *Christianisme des Indes*, p. 534, &c. Millar's *Prop. of Christianity*, ii. 322.

² These difficulties are such as to have led Dr. Jortin to a notion, which it is rather extraordinary that so judicious a writer should have entertained, that "the conversion and the restoration of the Jews, and the calling of
" the

Men who commonly do not leave Europe till their memory and the organs of speech become in some degree intractable by age or habit, cannot in general attain that familiarity with the usages and dialects of foreign countries and climates, which is indispensable to a religious instructor. In the present circumstances also of India, all teachers of Christianity must be regarded with a peculiar jealousy, and thus neither be able to guard their doctrines from mistake, nor their motives from suspicion. It may be supposed, indeed, that this obstacle may be removed, either in the whole or in part, by educating natives of Hindostan for the purposes of the Christian ministry. And it is certain, that it is on natives rather than on Europeans that the eventual progress of our religion in that country must depend.

The capital difficulty, however, seems to be of a more important and formidable kind. There is nothing which demands not only so much delicacy and address, but also so just

“ the Gentiles, if ever it be accomplished, must in all probability be performed by the visible manifestation of God’s power and spirit, and not by ordinary and human means.” Remarks, ii. 240. See Hey’s Lectures, i.

and liberal a knowledge of human nature, as interference in matters of religion. It is manifest, however, from past history, and I know not that the experience of present times tends in any degree to invalidate the observation, that those persons who devote themselves to the missionary office, though often men of the most heroic disinterestedness, and sometimes of an acute and active genius, yet are rarely possessed of an enlarged and comprehensive intellect. In the immediate object which they are desirous of attaining, an object, indeed, of the highest worth and greatness, they appear somewhat too exclusively to concentrate all the faculties of their minds ; and, from want of an extended contemplation of human nature, to mistake the means by which that very object may be best attained. Eager to multiply conversions, they seem naturally to fall into those imprudences which attend an unenlightened spirit of proselytism. In some cases, as we have seen, they accommodate Christianity to the idolatries of those to whom they preach. In others they forget that the same causes, which make religion necessary to mankind, attach men to the religion in which they have been bred, and that every rude attack serves only to bind them

them to it more closely. These errors seem not to imply any particular imputation of blame to individual missionaries, but naturally to result from the constitutional imperfection of mankind. Throughout India, and other unconverted countries, they probably will extend to all teachers of Christianity, whether of native or European extraction. We rarely can find accuracy of judgment united with that warmth of character which is necessary to induce men to undertake the difficult and dangerous office of promulgating Christianity to idolaters; however useful they may esteem that office to be, however sublime. Those varied studies which discipline and correct the mind lessen the intensity of its application to any one pursuit. To improve reason has a tendency to diminish zeal. I speak only of what usually is the tendency of such improvement, without examining whether it is capable of being, or ought to be, counteracted.

Should these observations be admitted, they, probably, may lead us to infer that it is not so much to the exertions of missionaries that we must look for the future propagation of Christianity, as to the general dissemination of knowledge. The indiscretions which it can scarcely, perhaps, be hoped that missionaries

will be able to avoid, impede the end which they propose : but when those persons to whom our religion is offered shall be enabled to determine for themselves, concerning its records and evidences, they will learn to admit its truth on rational principles. When they shall add to the possession of our Scriptures the sagacity to understand their meaning, and the judgment to appreciate their value, they will believe the doctrines which are taught in them. This belief, we may expect, will naturally descend from the more intelligent to the comparatively ignorant. Sound learning and just argument will triumph over fanaticism or error ; will first convince the reason of the wise, and, by this means, will, in due time, overcome the prejudices of the vulgar ; and thus Christianity will eventually be established by a progress contrary, indeed, to that which it experienced at its origin, but probably not less aptly suited to the altered circumstances of mankind.

If this, in truth, be likely to be the case, so extraordinary a revolution in the manner of propagating our religion deserves a serious consideration. It is an historical fact, entirely independent of the miraculous means by which it is said to have been effected, that Christianity

was

was introduced into the world by low and uneducated men, and that men of rank and learning were afterwards, by degrees, converted to it. This fact appears, manifestly, to be an inversion in the ordinary progress of opinions, which are usually communicated from the wise to the ignorant, instead of being adopted from the ignorant by the wise. It accordingly has been considered by Christians as an important argument for the belief of a divine interference in the original establishment of the church. And if it appears that things have now reverted to their natural order, even in the advancement of that very religion, in the foundation of which this order was interrupted; if it is to abilities and learning that we must now look for the extension and support of a religion which was first propagated by a few unlettered fishermen of Galilee; we have the stronger reason to admire the peculiarity of its origin; and to conclude that none but God could ever have enabled “the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty.”

SERMON VIII.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

IT has been often justly remarked, that Christ not only forbore to assume any temporal greatness, but that he made no pretensions to temporal authority. He expressly taught his disciples that his kingdom was not of this world, and declared both by his words and actions that he recognized the jurisdiction of existing rulers. The apostles also were diligent to instruct their converts that the profession of the true faith, and the adoption from the bondage of sin, or of the Jewish law into the glorious liberty of the Gospel, neither changed nor relaxed the duties of civil obligation. The future universality of the new religion was wisely consulted by this provident caution. The legislator

gislator may have been thus disposed to regard it without jealousy, and the philosopher to judge it with candour. It may now, I presume, be safely asserted, with the illustrious champions of Protestant independence, that ecclesiastics, in attempting to set up a temporal prerogative independent of the state, and much more, an influence, or an establishment inconsistent with its security, exceed the bounds of their commission.

But though numerous instances have been alleged in these lectures, of churchmen who have made their sacred calling a cloak to their ambition, or who have conducted the fancied interests of their faith by the rules of worldly policy; though the contrast between their conduct and the conduct of Jesus, between their principles and the genuine principles of Christianity has, I trust, been carefully and accurately distinguished, it has not at any time been denied that temporal offices may, without any violation of true religion, be confided to the administration of ecclesiastics*. It is the artful progress from the administration of spiritual offices to the prerogative of worldly power, in which real Christianity abhors to

* Fleury, q. Jortin's Remarks, iii. 273.

join;

join ; the unhallowed ends, to which the most holy pretensions have been too frequently directed. It has not been asserted, that the priesthood ought justly to be secluded either from the exercise of private business, or the discharge of civil functions; but that true religion walks not in those paths of questionable and indirect policy, into which business and ambition are too generally tempted to divert. It may have been inconvenient, it cannot justly be said to have been profane, that the sceptre of temporal dominion should have been wielded by the Roman pontiff: the profaneness of Papal usurpation consisted not in the mere exercise of territorial sovereignty, but in the mode by which this sovereignty was acquired, and the principles by which it was supported ; in the perversion of ecclesiastical authority to purposes inconsistent with the legitimate objects of ecclesiastical establishments ; in applying the name of Christianity to abuses irreconcilable with its truth, and in reality hostile to its progress ; which were not confined to the limits of the Papal territory, but extended throughout the Christian world.

I am willing, indeed, unreservedly to admit that temporal power, even when committed
to

to the hands of ecclesiastics, may not always have been misplaced. And were a state to be again exhibited to mankind administered solely by the sacerdotal order, though the eligibility of such a constitution might be doubted, yet, unless truth seemed violated by more than common error, or liberty oppressed by unusual tyranny, it might be contemplated without abhorrence.

The erection, therefore, of the Jesuitical empire in Paraguay, the last and most splendid example of missionary zeal, which it is the object of these discourses to examine, is not hastily to be reprobated, without an inquiry into the principles on which it was founded. Though it is seen, on its very first appearance, to be inconsistent with the rules of the Institute of the Jesuits, by which the acquisition of permanent establishments, and the exercise of secular offices, are expressly prohibited^b; yet this irregularity might have been overlooked, in consideration of some not more singular than pleasing circumstances which are included in the history of their government,

^b Echavarri, Hist. du Paraguay sous les Jesuites, vol. i. part i. chap. ii. p. 13. and Epit. Soc. Jesu, there cited.

were

were not the attention forcibly recalled to a wary and distrustful watchfulness by numerous examples of despotic and artful policy.

The simple manners which the Paraguayan neophytes are related to have possessed, their peaceful submission to the commands, their implicit veneration for the persons of the missionaries, seem at first sight to disclose the most beautiful picture of a mild and docile people rewarding with filial gratitude the paternal care of their instructors. In no Utopia (could the absence of liberty be forgiven) has a juster or more equable tranquillity ever presented itself to the dreams of a philosophical imagination. No want, no superfluity: all laboured with cheerfulness in common, and the produce of their labours became the property of the whole. By wise superintendants it was again distributed with provident impartiality. All were supplied alike from public storehouses with clothing adapted to the climate. The sick, the aged, and the infirm received always the most attentive succour. The reformation also from a ferocious barbarism^c, to the employments and arts of civilization; from the

^c Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay*, vol. i. p. 11, 12. ii. 11. ed. Paris, 1757. 12mo.

distresses

distresses of the hunting state, to the security of the agricultural ; an administration of justice the most lenient and the most wise, and above all the general diffusion of a most scrupulous reverence for religion, must be attributed in the missions of Paraguay to the zealous assiduity of the Jesuits ^d.

The religion, indeed, which they taught was violated by Papal superstition : but as this general error of the Romish missionaries has in other instances been already noticed, I shall decline, for the present, any farther animadversions on it, and consider despotism as the only vice, with which, in these regions of their greatest success, the Jesuits are justly to be charged. That despotism also itself was exercised so tenderly, that here, if ever, the flattering character may have been realized, which

^d Muratori, Relation of the Missions of Paraguay, Engl. Tr. 12mo. 1759. chapp. vii. & xvi. Davie's Letters from Paraguay, (8vo. 1805.) p. 221, &c. I cannot refer to this last mentioned publication without intimating my doubts (doubts, indeed, which no evidence in its favour could remove) respecting its authenticity. I question not, however, but that the information which it affords, on those points for which it is here cited, was procured either from Spanish documents to which I have had no access, or from a person who had actually resided in the country where it is pretended to have been written.

was,

was, of old, applied so undeservedly to the mother of Tiberius : “ The power of injustice “ was possessed without the will to injure.” These missionaries, in truth, seem to have regarded those over whom they exercised an unlimited authority as being their subjects, not their slaves ; to have coveted dominion, that they might confer benefit. Even now it is still to be observed that, where their institutions are in part continued, the native Indians, unlike that miserable race oppressed in the adjoining provinces by the yoke of Spain, preserve a manly and erect deportment, and wear countenances of animation and content^f.

Is despotism then, the mild despotism which was exercised in the missions of Paraguay by the Jesuits, a sufficient cause to deny them the praise of having taught there the genuine doctrines of Christianity ? It is at least sufficient to discriminate most widely the history of their conduct, and the evidence of their motives, from those by which Christ is to be distinguished : nor, in truth, are the evils even of

* “ Nec nocuisse ulli, et fortunam habuisse nocendi.”
Albinov. ad Liviam.

^f Davie’s Letters, p. 215, &c.

the

the mildest despotism inconsiderable, either in themselves, or in their effect upon religion.

Each of the missionary settlements in Paraguay, during the continuance of the Jesuit authority, was superintended by two fathers of that order, the one principal, the other assistant^a. In these persons was vested the whole of the civil as well as of the spiritual power. Native officers were, indeed, elected by the Indians themselves, to whom were assigned the titles, and in some degree the employments, of the inferior magistrates of Spain: but these elections were entirely under the control of the Jesuits, nor could any measures of importance be adopted, nor any punishment inflicted, without their concurrence^b. Even the military forces of the respective missions were regulated by their pleasure, and commanded by officers of their appointment^c.

^a Muratori, chap. xi. p. 99.

^b Ulloa, vol. i. p. 544. ed. 4to. Amst. 1752. Muratori, p. 126. Charlevoix, ii. 45.

^c Benard, Disc. Prelim. p. 92, 93, 95. See Charlevoix, ii. 35. The Jesuits have defended their solicitude to put the military establishments of the missions on a respectable footing, not only on the grounds of necessity and policy, but also on that of its being a religious duty. "C'est de plus une très-grande faute de faire si peu de cas de ce que Dieu lui-même approuve, puisqu'il
" s'appelle

Thus uniting all the titles both of civil and religious veneration, adding to the fervour of their zeal a corresponding purity of manners, and claiming, as they might justly claim, the recompence of gratitude in return for the most solicitous affection, and the most pious care, they exercised an absolute dominion over their profelytes. No power that is founded merely upon force can equal the authority of a religious as well as civil superior, whose subjects with voluntary humility are earnest to confess their secret crimes, who intreat to expiate them by penance, and who prostrate themselves to kiss the garments of the missionaries, and the hand which has inflicted chastisement^k.

A despotism acquired by so many benefits, and exercised with so much gentleness, it might seem the part of a determined objector to reprobate, were not the means, which were employed for its attainment or preservation, such as must necessarily have been productive of the most serious evils. Of these the most considerable were the entire abolition of pro-

“ s'appelle dans l'Ecriture sainte ‘ Dominus Deus Exercituum.’ ” Echavarri, i. p. 128.

^k Benard, ubi sup. 90. Muratori, p. 70, 71.

q

perty

perty among the people, and the mental ignorance from which, by the most studious policy, their emancipation was utterly precluded.

The husbandman in Paraguay, it has already been observed, laboured not for himself¹: the produce of the harvest was deposited in public granaries under the direction of the Jesuits, whence every individual was supplied with necessary food at monthly intervals, or on particular emergencies^m. The workmanship also of the manufacturer, and even the wages of his labourⁿ, were laid up in the general repository^o. The disposal of the superfluous produce was entrusted to the Jesuits alone, and by them the natives were, in return, supplied with all the foreign products, whether of necessity or comfort, which they enjoyed. The indolent and improvident character and the bounded intellect of the Indians^p rendered these arrangements, according to the Jesuits, a matter of necessity, rather than of choice. If left to themselves, it was asserted that, while

¹ See Appendix XXIX.

^m Benard, Disc. Prelim. p. 91. Muratori, p. 144. and extract from Father Florentine's voyage, *ibid.* 292.

ⁿ Davie's Letters, 248.

^o Muratori, 145.

^p Charlevoix, ii. 47. Muratori, 101, 141, 145, 196.

they

they rioted in present plenty, they would not spare the resources of the future year¹. But, as no accounts are to be credited by which any portion of mankind is condemned to a helpless incapacity, so it is confirmed by particular observation that no deficiency of understanding could justly be attributed to the natives of Paraguay². In mechanical dexterity, in music, and in painting, they seem to have vied with European artists³, while an enlarged or comprehensive understanding can scarcely be expected to result, even where nature has been most liberal in her gifts, from a narrow and prejudiced education. In truth, this character of incapacity was a device of the Jesuits alone, and intended by them as an apology for having assumed the entire administration of affairs, and direction of labour among the Indians. It has been suspected that the commercial attractions of a lucrative monopoly were the real motive of these assumptions⁴; but it is probable that power ra-

¹ Muratori, *ibid.*

² *Ibid.* 133, 135.

³ Charlevoix, ii. 48. Muratori, 87.

⁴ Echavarri, i. 115, 126.

ther than riches was the object which they were intended to secure.

The extinction of property appears sometimes to have been regarded with approbation by theorists of former ages, as tending to the maintenance of equal liberty in their visionary republics. The experiment has never been so completely realized as in the missions to Paraguay ; but the Jesuits, by whom it was there instituted, seem to have foreseen its real operation with greater sagacity than the philosophers of old : they perceived that it would terminate, not in liberty, but in despotism. Property, indeed, of all the institutions by which the ends of social union are to be promoted, is by far the most efficient. Honours can never be bestowed on the mass of the population in a state. Their worth is founded upon distinction, and, as they become common, vanishes away. Property, on the contrary, is of real value in itself ; it is capable of the most minute and varied subdivisions, and may be rendered, under a wise and liberal legislation, the firmest bond of order and the most powerful motive to industry. Men, where there is no property, will either not labour beyond the absolute necessity of sustenance,

nance, or labour with indolence and constraint. It is the insecurity of property which perpetuates, in the fairest portion of Asia, the oppressions of the Ottoman empire. It is the virtual negation of property that, in western India, has given rise to the taskmaster and the scourge. Wherever, in short, the legislator abandons this salutary institution, he abandons his most efficient and natural ally. Rejecting the cement of society, he finds it necessary, perhaps, for the preservation of the edifice, to draw tight the cords of servitude. Sometimes the pressure of circumstances, or defect of skill, may compel him to adopt this uncertain support of disunited and tottering materials; but the Jesuits, it is to be feared, established not the despotism of Paraguay as necessary to supply the absence of property, but excluded the acquisition of property, that they might ensure despotism^a.

^a The extent of the despotism exercised by the Jesuits in Paraguay was so great, that they considered the following as *bad* terms, on which they procured admission into the country of the Chiquito Indians. "The first, "that who did not chuse to become Christian should not "be obliged to leave the country: the second, that children, though their parents were Christians, must not "serve at the altars. The missionary accepted these

The evils which have been thus enumerated as resulting from the exclusion of property, if they may seem chiefly of a political nature, yet are not without their moral import. Political and moral evil are rarely unconnected with each other. Whatever degrades the independance of the character debases the purity of virtue. To the exclusion of property, also, evils the most indisputably moral may be directly traced. Necessity and the desire of improvement are the sources of many virtues, of those especially, in which the principle of self-interest predominates as the rule of action. Where excellence can neither alleviate misfortune, nor procure good, excellence will rarely be attained. The Indian, to whom, in common with his countrymen, the necessaries of existence are distributed from the public stock; who, when the labour which is due to the community is discharged, possesses not the right of labouring for himself, has little opportunity of emulation, and no incentive to industry. Nor is the unnatural extinction of property less injurious to the sympathetic and social virtues. How can he be charitable who

“ terms, though he foresaw they might have bad consequences.” Muratori, p. 108, 109.

has

has nothing to give ? How weak the tie of the domestic union, unless strengthened by particular necessities, and peculiar interests ! How impossible to exercise either filial or parental piety, where the son can have no dependence on the parent, nor the parent receive succour from the son^{*} !

The ignorance, in which the natives of Paraguay were studiously kept, may seem capable of a more plausible apology than their being precluded from the acquisition of property. An intercourse with the Spanish colonies, it was pretended, would only serve to lead the Indians into a contempt of the religion which they would there see openly profaned, or an imitation of the licentiousness, which was there generally practised[†]. Nor is it to be dissembled that European colonists, by their injustice, their cruelty, and dissoluteness, have often raised most formidable impe-

^{*} Raynal, liv. viii. ch. 17. vol. ii. p. 288.

[†] “ Il faut couper court à tout cela, parceque si les
“ Indiens acquierent trop de lumieres sur de pareilles
“ choses, les Peres ne pourront plus s’assurer de leur façon
“ de penser, ni les tenir dans la dépendance. Vos révé-
“ rences doivent être persuadées, qu’à mesure que ces
“ Indiens feroient des progrès dans les connoissances, ce
“ seroit plutôt pour le mal que pour le bien.” Ordon-
nances et Lettres cited, Echavarri, i. p. 227.

diments to the progress of that holy religion which they have professed to teach^a. The Indians, however, prohibited from the study of the language^a, and usually from intercourse with the natives of Spain^b, were prevented from attaining any knowledge but such as they might derive from their missionaries. By these instructors they were taught to believe “ that
 “ all secular Europeans were men without
 “ law, and without religion, who adored no
 “ God but gold, and, being possessed by the
 “ Devil, were enemies not only to the Indians,
 “ but also to the holy images which they re-
 “ vered ; who, if they entered the territory of
 “ the missions, would destroy the altars, and

^a Muratori, p. 198.

^a Charlevoix, ii. p. 45, 46. See also *Rélation abrégée concernant la république que les religieux (nommés) Jésuites des provinces de Portugal et d’Espagne ont établi dans les pays et domaines d’outre-mer de ces deux monarchies, &c.* published with the sanction of the courts of Spain and Portugal, p. 51. in the *Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques, et des Ordonnances du Roi de Portugal, concernant la conduite des Jésuites dans le Paraguay, &c.* 3 tomes, Amst. 1761. tome i.

^b The partial intercourse, which was permitted with the Spanish settlements, was so adjusted as to confirm rather than shake the exclusive reverence for and confidence in the Jesuits, which was entertained by the Indians. See Appendix XXX.

“ put

“ put the women and children to the sword.” For themselves, on the contrary, the Jesuits claimed, not only the confidence which man may, perhaps, justly expect from man as the return for benefits conferred, or as due to a superiority of knowledge; but also a veneration, which can with decency be offered to none but God, a blind obedience, utterly unsuitable to the condition of humanity, though here inculcated as the most essential principle of religion^d. But religion, however favourable the prejudices thus instilled into the Indians may have been to its apparent progress, can never be, in reality, promoted by the artifices of despotism. True Christianity, though it interferes not, by any direct method, with

^c *Rélation abrégée*, p. 52, 53. I know not whence a better idea can be derived of the abhorrence for the Spaniards which was inculcated among the Indians, than from the following extract said to be taken from an ordinance of Tamburini, General of the Jesuits, to the Provincial of Paraguay. The eighth article of the ordinance, after reciting the punishment to be inflicted on forcerers, thus proceeds. “ On finira par les chasser honteusement en les envoyant chez les Espagnols, pour avoir l’air de sévir plus rigoureusement contre eux, et pour les couvrir d’une plus grande ignominie.” *Ordonnances et Lettres*. Echavarri, i. p. 97, 98.

^d *Rélation abrégée*, p. 51, 52, 53.

civil

civil ordinances and subjection, is, in its influence, favourable to liberty. And reason, likewise, hesitates not to refuse that partial good, which is purchased by the sacrifice of all generosity of sentiment, of all the independent and noble faculties of the mind.

If the conduct of the Jesuits in Paraguay towards the Indians was thus exceptionable both in the means employed, and in the end proposed, it exhibited indications not less remarkable of an ambitious policy, as it respected the civil and ecclesiastical government of Spain. The earlier accounts of their establishment disclose almost uninterrupted scenes of contention with that government, which were often terminated by arms*. Such contest, perhaps, even without entering into a detail of the attendant circumstances, might, in itself be a presumption, particularly as it is illustrated by the history of their proceedings in Europe, that here also they entertained views of aggrandizement, which were dangerous to the safety of the state. They had promised an unfeigned submission to the bishops of those

* Recueil des Dec. Apost. &c. tome i. Avertiff. pref. p. 14. Charlevoix, in initio in various places, and vol. iv. p. 17.

districts

districts in which their missions were situated ; but the promise seems to have been equally insincere with that memorable vow of obedience to the Pope, originally made by Loyola at the primary institution of the order^f. Here, as elsewhere, they regarded their own superiors with an exclusive submission, nor would they tolerate the exercise of any alien supremacy, even whilst they admitted its nominal existence^g.

Nor were they more scrupulous in their reverence for the temporal jurisdiction of Spain. The prohibition throughout the missions of the Spanish language, which they had undertaken to teach ; the suspicious abhorrence of Europeans, which they studiously promoted, proceeded, beyond doubt, in part, from the desire of supporting their own exclusive despotism. On their own authority they administered both civil and criminal justice, and regulated their political relations with adjoin-

^f Sermon V. pp. 118, 129.

^g *Voyage Historique de l'Amerique Méridionale*, par Don G. Juan, et Don Antoine Ulloa, vol. i. p. 548. 4to. Amst. 1752. This work is quoted by Charlevoix with approbation. Benard, *Disc. Prel.* p. 93. Echavarri, i. 308.

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ing states. They referred not to the will, they considered not the interests of Spain ^b.

But the presumptions of a factious conduct need not be long insisted on, where there are so many overt acts of rebellion. When the Indians of Paraguay, too confident in their numbers or their zeal, dared rashly to oppose in arms the regular and combined armies of Spain and Portugal, the Jesuits directed the revolt. They exasperated their enthusiastic subjects by language the most furious and the most inflammatory ⁱ, and, if they did not personally lead the ranks of battle, they organized

^b Echavarri, vol. i. p. 81, &c. 92, 101, 102. "En effet, " si les Indiens ne sont pas bien exercés à manier les " armes, ces doctrines ne pourront pas se défendre contre " les infidèles, les Espagnols, et les Portugais." Lettre circulaire du P. Provincial Ignacio de Arteaga, 1727. Ibid. p. 128. The most numerous and by far the most active part of the Jesuits of Paraguay is said to have been composed of Europeans of mean birth. Natives of Spain, who, from national partiality, might be supposed unwilling to support, unreservedly, the Jesuit interest against the Spanish, were rarely sent into these provinces. Echavarri, vol. i. p. 164, 175, 176. Hospinian, Hist. Jes. p. 94. Tig. 1670.

ⁱ Copie des Instructions que les Jesuites qui gouvernent les Indiens leur donnerent, &c. No. i. at the end of the Relation Abrégée, p. 84, &c.

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the councils, and guided the operations of the war^k.

Slight, in truth, was the impression that could be made on regular armies by the untried militia of these Indian missions. Hostilities were indeed protracted to a third year, and a second campaign, but by manœuvres rather of the cabinet, than of the field. Even then, though vanquished beyond the hope of any future recovery by arms, the Jesuits yielded not to despair. What force had failed to effect, intrigue seems successfully to have accomplished. The hostile conquest, though decisive and complete, was not pursued to any efficient purpose. The original object of the Spanish government, which had given occasion to the war, was abandoned, and the Jesuits of Paraguay continued for a time to exercise the same undiminished despotism which they had long possessed; for a time, indeed, of no long duration, but, till after the European downfall of the order had preceded and prefaged their fate^l.

The moral demerit of the Jesuits in thus

^k Echavarri, vol. ii. p. 205, &c.

^l An account of the war of the missions of Paraguay, and the final expulsion of the Jesuits from that country, may be found in Appendix XXXI.

abetting

abetting a resistance to the tyranny of Spain, I am far from having the remotest intention to exaggerate. Though their conduct was undoubtedly inconsistent with the institute of their order, though it undoubtedly exceeded the legitimate province of ecclesiastics, it is capable of many palliations. Had the boldness of their enterprise been rewarded with success, had a hero started from beneath the cowl to vindicate the liberties of mankind, I know not that we could have paused to condemn the irregularity of the priest, while we applauded the deliverer of his people. Still, however, though every thing be allowed which the most sanguine advocate can demand, though the conduct of the Jesuits in the war of Paraguay be admitted not only to be justifiable, but even to be disinterested; still the question is to be asked, where is the *evidence* of their disinterestedness? Innumerable are the facts in history, innumerable are the theological positions, of which, though the truth be not denied, the evidence may justly be contested. The narrative of an historian is not false, because it is doubtful. A patriot is not dishonest, because his conduct may seem referable to ambition. A teacher of religion is not necessarily corrupt, because his efforts to
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extend the faith may plausibly be derived from interested motives. If, however, these several characters be taxed by an objector with avarice, with ambition, and with falsehood, how is the objection to be refuted? The probabilities by which it may be weakened are in themselves so doubtful, so liable to be exaggerated by attachment or disregarded by jealousy, as rarely to produce a full conviction in the mind of the most unprejudiced inquirer.

Christianity is not builded up on such unstable foundations. Not only may it possibly or probably be true, but the history of its propagation is not to be explained on any hypothesis of falsehood. Not only may the conduct of Christ be fairly defended from the charges of interest or ambition, but is utterly incompatible with either supposition.

To illustrate the truth of these remarks from the history of the missions to Paraguay, it must be observed that in comparing the evidence of the religion which was there promulgated with the evidence of the religion taught by Christ, no arguments are to be considered but such as may be collected, in the one case, from the personal conduct and policy of Christ, in the other, from the personal conduct and policy of the Jesuits. • In the one instance

stance we confine ourselves to the history of Christ without noticing his miracles ; we must confine ourselves in the other to the history of the Jesuits, as if they had been the original authors of the religion which they taught, without any reference to the written documents of its truth.

For the present I wave all objections to the purity of the doctrines of the Jesuits, and the rectitude of their intentions. Let their real be supposed uniformly to have been the same with their declared object ; the establishment of Christianity : let it be granted that they assumed and exercised a despotic power, solely to facilitate the progress of the faith, and promote the happiness and security of their people. The power thus assumed must be supposed also independent of external support, and of external danger. It is to be examined on its inherent strength or weakness, as the probable causes of its permanence or its fall. The original assistance, and the subsequent hostility of Spain is, for the moment, to be forgotten.

At first, then, it may naturally be supposed that the greatness of the benefit received would operate among the reclaimed barbarians who were instructed in religion, and disciplined to order,

order, to the exclusion of all other feelings but those of implicit gratitude and confidence. Such, in truth, seems to have been the fact, as such had been the disposition with which their Peruvian neighbours had before received, in circumstances perhaps apparently similar, the fabled children of the Sun. At length, however, when gratitude, that transitory affection, should subside, and confidence become mingled with distrust, when the security, which had been so long unknown, should awaken at length the sense of rights which they did not yet possess, they who might question the authority of the despot would scarcely fail to doubt the sincerity of the priest. Observing that their religious doctrines had proceeded from the authors of their civil slavery, they would imagine them, however salutary, to have been framed and cemented by the same designing policy. The probability of this construction is general, not particular; extends to all institutions of religion, not to the peculiar forms of Christianity alone. So also, had it been allotted by Providence to the kingdom of the Incas, to reach the period of natural decay, the opposers of their civil dominion would have denied their pretensions as envoys of the divinity to mankind: or so at least the incredulous Eu-

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ropean would probably decide, taught by too uniform an experience to regard with jealousy every pretension which is capable of being referred to interested motives.

How different are the presumptions which may be collected from the original establishment of Christianity ! How unimpeachable the disinterestedness of its author ! He connected not, he sought not to connect any temporal establishment with the doctrines which he taught. The pure garments with which he clothed his disciples must be foully stained, ere they can hide the injustice either of ecclesiastical or civil despotism.

Whence, however, and to what purpose was this peculiarity of Christ ? Why came he not, as the Jews expected him to come, arrayed in the pomp of triumph, and trampling on the necks of his enemies ? Was it to extort from the unwilling sceptic the praise of rigid disinterestedness ? Was it to preclude the possible imputation of selfish and temporal ambition ? Those persons who reject the evidence of Christianity must undoubtedly answer in the affirmative. The messenger of truth may often carry with him the presumptive evidences of veracity, without being conscious of their nature or importance: they
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never can be exhibited by the messenger of falsehood but with design.

And here recurs, as I conceive, with irrefragable force, the argument of these discourses. No wisdom but the divine could have enabled the author of Christianity to foresee the imputations against which he appears thus clearly to have guarded the evidence of his religion. They could not have been collected from the experience of the past. Or, if human wisdom alone be supposed equal to the discovery, why has this discovery been made by Christ alone? Why, for example, was it not made by those penetrating ecclesiastics of Paraguay, who understood, probably, the methods of conciliating belief and confidence more thoroughly than any other politicians whom history can enable us to name: who thought, no doubt, that, by elevating the prerogative of their order, they should increase, together with their own authority, the prosperity of religion, but who did not perceive that despotism, both civil and religious, carries with it in itself the latent germ of its destruction?

SERMON IX.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

IN whatever respects the preceding discourses may have been chargeable with defect, or error, I am willing to hope that the exposition of the general argument may have been deemed sufficiently accurate and perspicuous. By that argument the truth of Christianity has been inferred from the distinction between crafty and wise policy, between particular and general expediency. I apprehend, indeed, that all difficulties both of moral and political casuistry are to be solved only by a proper adjustment of the balance, in which these differing, and frequently opposing, principles are to be weighed. It is the part of wisdom and integrity to be guided by extensive prospects.

Craft and selfishness are directed by partial views.

It, accordingly, was shown that the genuine religion of Christ is of an enlarged and liberal character, wisely suited not to the narrow interests of ambitious individuals, but to the nature and condition of mankind. It was asserted, and, I trust, proved, that the means, which were originally employed for its propagation, are characterized by the same spirit, and such as an enthusiast or impostor not only would not have chosen, but could not have devised. This argument and position were illustrated by an inquiry into the circumstances of the age in which Christianity was first promulged; into the prejudices of both the Jewish and the Gentile world, and into the religious history of mankind. It was shown that other teachers of religion, and other pretenders to the name and office of Messiah, have proposed to themselves objects, and availed themselves of means, which Christ refused to recognise or to adopt; but which it is presumable that he would have grasped with eagerness, if he had not been enlightened by knowledge more than human. It was shown also, that, if any part of the policy of Christianity seemed to have only a temporary re-
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ference to the period of its establishment, yet it did not militate against the general principle which was advanced; but rather, from its modified conformity to that principle, was calculated to confirm its truth.

The argument being thus completed and explained, I proceeded to compare the history of the origin of Christianity with the history of those early compliances with superstition, which were afterwards introduced into the church. I attempted to pursue the progress of these first corruptions of our religion, to their consummation in the idolatries of Papal Rome, and then to examine the rise of the Papal tyranny, and to show the nature and magnitude of the evils which those idolatries and that tyranny have produced. It was my next endeavour faithfully to delineate the more important features by which the society of the Jesuits was distinguished, to trace the establishment of its power, to expose the profligacy of its moral discipline, and to exhibit the bright contrast which is apparent in the character of Christ.

But that part of the history of the Jesuit order, which connected itself most naturally with the argument before unfolded, seemed to

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consist

confist in the methods which were resorted to by its missionaries for the propagation of Christianity in foreign countries. The policy was examined by which their establishments in Japan, in China, in Hindostan, and in the southern continent of America, were distinguished. They were shown, in some cases, to have permitted accommodations to existing superstition and idolatry, which, however conducive to present, were inimical to permanent success. In other instances, the conduct of these zealous ecclesiastics was seen either to warrant the supposition, or to admit the probable imputation of having been dictated by interest or ambition: while the conduct of Christ, on the contrary, both in respect of its wisdom, and its disinterestedness, was every way and evidently unexceptionable.

The usual purpose, for which the notice of the philosopher or the divine has been attracted to the corruptions of Christianity, has been to argue the falsity of those pretensions, by which ecclesiastics, whose doctrines, or whose motives appeared to be altogether different from those of Christ, yet claimed the sanction of his authority. It is the converse of that argument which has been here maintained;
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a proposition less directly consequent on the premises, but still not feebly supported by them, and certainly not less important in itself: that both the nature of the wisdom, and the evidence of the motives, by which Christ was guided, are so manifestly distinguished from human policy and passions, as to afford a fair and unanswerable presumption that he was himself enlightened from above. Why, if he was a mere man, uncommissioned by the divinity, why did he not pursue the same conduct which others have pursued in similar circumstances? Where did he find that unexceptionable wisdom which others could not find either in the nature of things, or in an experience more extensive than his own?

It may be asked, however, whether I intend to assert, without exception, that the nature of the wisdom, by which any dispensation is characterized, affords a sure criterion of its authority: that, while the policy of God is uniformly framed on general principles, the policy of man is always limited and partial. Were I to answer in the affirmative, the past experience of mankind would justify the assertion, would warrant me to declare that the counsels of God are those only in which un-
impeach-

impeachable wisdom can be recognized*. In him alone can we find or expect perfection. But if we speak of that comparative wisdom which man is capable of attaining, the argument of these discourses does not oblige us either unreservedly to condemn the past, or to augur unfavourably of the future. We may admit that the gifts which have been confided to human administration have not always been used unworthily. Some professors of religion have taught the way of God in truth, and have imitated the example of the Redeemer with laudable though imperfect fidelity. And they have been rewarded with an abundant harvest. They have sown the good seed, which has taken root in a fertile soil, and sprung up, and blossomed, and brought forth fruit, some thirty, some sixty, and some a hundred fold. The prosperous issue of their labours confirms that natural analogy by which the original success of Christianity has been referred to the purity of those means which were originally employed in its propagation.

* Των εκ ες' απανευθε Διος δομος, υδε τις ιδρη,
Ουδ' οδος, οππη μη κερεις Θεος ηγεμονευει.

Hesiod. Theog. 386.

And

And even could we hope that mankind, taught at length by the uniform miscarriage which has every where attended fraudulent and temporary expedients, may at length embrace, more generally than heretofore, the maxims of consistent and real policy, the argument which is here derived from the nature of the wisdom displayed by Christ would in no respect be diminished in importance. The wisdom of Christ has been proved to be free from those errors into which the best and wisest of mankind have fallen, into which he himself would, also, necessarily have fallen, had he been but a mere man. If it was more than human, it must have been divine, and to whatever extent we may suppose that human wisdom may possibly be hereafter improved, yet, when the circumstances attendant on the origin of Christianity, the opinions of the age in which it appeared, and the example of preceding lawgivers are taken into consideration, the accumulated presumptions in its favour will continue to be still the same. They cannot be less illustrious because the conduct, from which they are seen to arise, may be imitated hereafter. Their contrast with falsehood cannot be rendered less striking by any future prevalence of truth. Nor, indeed, is it likely
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to be held, even by the most sanguine advocate for the progressive amelioration of the human race, that man will ever equal that complete excellence of unexceptionable wisdom, which we contend to have been possessed by Christ.

In many of the examples of indirect and mistaken policy which have been adduced, its final miscarriage has been expressly noticed: but in the observations which were made on the history of the Papacy, and that of the Jesuits, it will be recollected, that I attempted rather to explain the nature and operation of the principles exemplified in their aggrandizement, than to show the ultimate disappointment produced by those principles, as manifested in the history of their decline. It was the chief object of the detail into which I thought it necessary to enter, not so much to state the consequences of an insincere and crafty policy, as to expose its nature, and its conduct. The fact of its disappointment may be simply and briefly expressed; while the nature of the means by which it is characterized seemed to demand a more particular illustration. I have reserved it, therefore, for this conclusion of my discourses, to show the different results of craft, and of wisdom, by
comparing

comparing the decline of the Papal and Jesuitical power with the continued security and real progress of Christianity. That policy is crafty and erroneous, which is induced by present emergency to sacrifice the necessary resources of the future : that policy is analogous to the divine, by which, while the indirect and narrow artifices are abjured, which are too commonly practised among men, that eventual success is obtained, which corresponds with the wisdom of God, and must always follow from his will.

The memorable blow, which deprived the Papal jurisdiction of the greatest portion of its influence, was struck at the era of the Reformation. It had been preparing long before. Comparatively dark as those ages may justly be entitled, which intervened between the reign of Theodosius, and the revival of letters in Europe, we should yet form very exaggerated notions of the religious fanaticism by which they were distinguished, were we to suppose that they acquiesced, universally, and without resistance, in the tyranny of the church. In the most gloomy night of ignorance, temporal princes seem naturally to have opposed themselves with sufficient zeal, though not, in general, with much consistency or prudence,

dence, to repress the ambition of ecclesiastics. So soon did the unjust pretensions and aspiring policy of the Popes give occasion to that just resistance which gradually increased till it destroyed the vitals of their power. So rapid are the steps by which craft advances to its destruction.

In the ages subsequent to the reformation, a real diminution has ensued in the authority of the Romish see, not less important than the apparent reduction of its power which was accomplished at that glorious period. Happily for mankind, the countries which continue their adherence to popery have shared in the general increase of civilization and science. They have approximated, in a greater or a less degree, to that intellectual vigour, which to every nation is so much more valuable than the forms even of the happiest constitution. Wherever there is an enlightened public, the practical evils of civil despotism are little to be feared : much more is the bitterness of ecclesiastical tyranny subdued, even though it may preserve its nominal prerogative. Accordingly, the bigotry of the church of Rome has been essentially diminished ; its persecutions, perhaps, have ceased ; and its influence, during the last three centuries, on the various govern-

governments of Europe, has, in general, been far inferior to that which those governments have possessed in the councils of Rome itself. We, indeed, in our times, may be said to have witnessed rather the destruction than the diminution of the Papal empire, who have seen the remnant of its authority insulted, and its chief reduced to a state of utter dependance by that powerful conqueror, who rules the continent of Europe without a rival^b.

The destruction of the Jesuits was prepared, also, by that progress of knowledge which has had so important an effect on the tyranny of the Popes. Had the governors of the order possessed the same spirit of moderation, for

^b The actual attacks and insults, which the late and present Popes have experienced, are far from being unexampled in the history of the Papal power. But though that power has, on many occasions, recovered its greatness, after shocks not less rude than those which it has recently undergone, it is to be recollected that the princes who, in former ages, waged war against, or offered any other violence to the holy See, professed, at the same time, the most unbounded veneration for it. They attempted not to subvert the foundations of its prerogative, which were deeply laid in opinion. At present, however, we can hardly suppose that there exist any resources in opinion, from which a restoration of the vigour of the Papal authority can ever be again expected.

which

which the Papal cabinet has been of late remarkable, its overthrow might have been less rude, or reserved, perhaps, to amplify the long series of revolutions, by which the ecclesiastical, as well as civil history of Europe has recently been distinguished. But, in the confidence which was inspired by the memory of their past triumphs, they seem at once to have forgotten that accommodating policy by which they had arrived at greatness; blind to the changes in opinion, which liberty or philosophy had introduced, and the incongruity of ecclesiastical arrogance with the prevailing sentiments of the age^c.

^c An ecclesiastic of this order declared at Lisbon from the pulpit, in the middle of the eighteenth century, that "whoever entered into the Grand Para Company should never enter into that of Christ." *Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques*, &c. i. 128. Soon after the Jesuits attacked a rival establishment in Portugal, which had engaged in the culture of vines in the province of Haut Douro; and asserted, "Que les vins qui seroient vendus par la compagnie ne vaudroient rien pour la célébration du S. Sacrifice de la Messe." *Ibid.* 132. "It seems," says D'Alembert, "that, at the period of their destruction, the Jesuits and their friends were seized with a sort of vertigo, and precipitated their own ruin; and that then, for the first time, they showed an inflexibility, where it was most their interest to concede." *Sur la Dest. des Jes.* p. 157.

Portugal,

Portugal, once the scene of their most absolute dominion, was the state which set the first example of the expulsion of the Jesuits from its territory. It spared not, also; with the usual inveteracy of feeble-minded revenge, to mix calumny with just accusation. The Jesuits, in their observations on this unmanly policy, are equally reprehensible; and if, in some instances, they may be deemed to have repelled the charges of their enemies, they attempt, in others, either the indirect or open justification of the most dangerous principles, and the most fanatic zealots of their sect^d.

Their conduct in France was distinguished by acts of still more extraordinary temerity. Proud of their victory over the Jansenists, a victory the more flattering, because it had so long been doubtful, they determined to complete the discomfiture of that expiring sect by refusing the last offices of the church to its adherents^e. But the victim, which they were

^d See Appendix XXXII.

^e The most important controversies in which the Jesuits were engaged in France were, first, their contest with Arnould and the Port Royal, and, afterwards, that with the Jansenists. A good account of the first is given in the *Histoire de Port Royal*, which is attributed to

desirous to crush, retained a strength, which they were far from having suspected, and pressed them vigorously in return. Then, indeed, the Jesuits seem to have recollected the policy of their better days; and as they had before escaped from the perplexity to which the question of the Chinese ceremonies had reduced them, by reviving the obscurer controversies of a former age; so now they attempted to elude the reviving energy of their ancient adversaries, by an attack on the partizans of infidelity^f. They may have remembered, also, that on a former occasion, though refuted in disputation, condemned by the Pope, and stigmatized by almost all the universities of Europe, they had so conducted themselves as to derive even from defeat the very rewards of

Racine, and of both in Marmontel's *Régence du Duc d'Orléans*, vol. ii. p. 175, &c. ed. Lond. 1805. The disputes respecting the bull *Unigenitus* were purposely raised by the Jesuits, in order to withdraw the public attention from the question of the Chinese ceremonies, on which they felt themselves reduced to great difficulties. This scheme succeeded for a time, but the violence with which it was prosecuted seems, at length, to have contributed to the destruction of the order. Marmontel, *Ibid.* p. 217, 218. D'Alembert, *Essai sur la Destruction des Jéf.* p. 81, &c. 87, 97, &c.

^f D'Alembert, 106.

victory.

victory. With an artifice which has invited imitation, instead of confessing themselves to be baffled, they assumed the port of conquerors. They proclaimed a triumph by public rejoicings, illuminations, and theatrical entertainments, while those who smiled at their arrogance were dazzled and confounded by its success^a.

The circumstances, however, of the times were varied. That tide of opinion was rapidly retiring, of which the flow had led them to greatness; and though daring confidence, when possessed of an ascendancy over the imagination, will often, of itself, create success, yet, when divested of that powerful support, it only accelerates misfortune. The Jesuits now added to their enemies a party formidable by its extensive influence, while, far from being doubly cautious to preserve their remaining popularity, they ventured to dare the public indignation by new imprudences^b. They had embarked in lucrative and extensive commerce, but refused to acquit the debts to which their agent, himself a Jesuit, was en-

^a Monarchie des Solipfes, p. 277.

^b D'Alembert, 110, &c.

gaged on their behalf¹. They contested, at a public trial, the legality of the obligation by which they were bound, and attempted to evade an equitable sentence, by proving that all Jesuits were prohibited by the articles of their constitutions from engaging in commercial affairs. This vain and injudicious, and, I may add, this insolent defence was the immediate occasion of their downfall. The volume of their institute, to which they appealed, attracted, for the first time, the judicial observation of the magistrate. The principles of that system have, on a former occasion, been explained, and it scarcely can be necessary to add, that no magistrate, to whose cognizance they might be submitted, could consent to tolerate them. The Jesuits were suppressed in France soon after they had been expelled from Portugal, and it was not long before the example of France was followed by the connected government of Spain.

I am as far from desiring to justify the severities with which the suppression of the Jesuits was attended, as from wishing to include in

¹ An account of this transaction is inserted in Appendix XXXIII.

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the guilt which I have imputed to the order all the individuals of whom it was composed. But the jealous enmity of magistrates and states would scarcely have been so generally directed against them, if it had not, in part at least, been provoked by real vice or error. It confirms, therefore, instead of weakening the conclusion that their policy had prepared their fall.

In that fall, when it at length arrived, their most unrelenting enemy might have satiated the desire of vengeance. If, as has been supposed, it be the property of hatred to extend itself from the offender himself to all with whom he may be connected, hatred might have been fully gratified by seeing the innocent confounded with the guilty, the young and the old, the healthy and the infirm involved in a promiscuous ruin. The majority, no doubt, of individual Jesuits had contributed rather to augment the numbers than to share in the councils of the society. But they were all driven from their homes to suffer alike the common misery of outcasts, wandering on the seas without protection, repulsed from almost every port, and obtaining even from Rome itself mere vain commiseration, and ineffectual relief. They were not the least unfortunate

who were exiled from the civilized states of southern Europe among the barbarous kingdoms of the North. Others, if less miserable, were more degraded, to whom that infidel sovereign, so unjustly dignified with the title of the philosophic monarch, gave permission to continue in his states. He never would have compassionated their misfortunes, had he not despised their power^k.

Such has been the ultimate miscarriage of those corrupted systems, which, though they have borne the name, have violated the spirit of Christianity. It is evident, also, that the same causes which, ultimately, prove fatal to the corrupted systems of our religion, must contribute in a proportionate degree to check the progress of the religion itself. The exposure, therefore, of those corruptions accounts in the most satisfactory manner for the limited re-

^k “ Ce n'est qu'en faveur de l'instruction de la jeunesse, que je les ai conservés. Le pape leur a coupé la queue; ils ne peuvent plus servir, comme les renards de Samson, pour embraser les moissons des Philistins.” Lettre du Roi de Prusse à M. de Voltaire, Dec. 10, 1773. See also the letters of the same monarch to M. D'Alembert, dated Jan. 7, March 11, May 15, and July 28, 1774.

Some farther details respecting the suppression of the Jesuits may be found in Appendix XXXIV.

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ception which Christianity has yet obtained : while its not having been overwhelmed by means of the profane abuses with which it has been loaded may be considered as an argument of its truth. If, however, instead of being overwhelmed, its progress has advanced, and is now advancing : if, as in the genuine records of our faith we can discover that wise adaptation to the circumstances of mankind, which appears likely to promote its eventual prevalence ; so, in the history of its propagation, we find, in fact, that its success has already answered, in part, and promises, in future, to realize still more completely such natural expectations : the argument of these discourses, which from the wisdom of our religion would infer its truth, receives every way the most powerful confirmation.

The greatest and most extraordinary progress of Christianity is visible in its first establishment, when it was opposed by all the powers, and contradicted by all the prejudices of the world. In defiance of these obstacles, it was extended, during the age of the Apostles, from Palestine to Rome, throughout countries enlightened by all the learning of a philosophical age, and under the inspection of a more prompt and decisive government than

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had

had before existed. In later times the real knowledge, as well as the nominal profession of our faith has been often stationary, and, perhaps, sometimes retrograde: but as the causes of these interruptions to its progress may easily be collected from the history of ecclesiastical abuses, so the nature even of that restricted success which it has obtained is not without its singular and characteristic qualities.

All human institutions have usually been supposed liable to the necessary vicissitudes of birth, maturity, and decay; a consummation not so much resulting from the order of nature, as from the lamentable fact, that human wisdom has been almost always limited by incorrect and partial conceptions. Christianity, however, not having been propagated by the help of temporary expedients, contains not in itself the principle of destruction. The splendour of its ancient triumphs may be again renewed, when those abuses shall disappear by which its natural influence has been so long and so powerfully opposed.

And in one respect, at least, in that of which we are best able to appreciate the reality and value, the recent progress of Christianity has been swift and certain. For, whatever may be the extent to which it is now professed,

fessed, we cannot hesitate to assert, that, at no preceding period, has the critical knowledge of its import been so widely or so accurately diffused, as in the present age. The soundness of biblical interpretation, and of the arguments proposed in defence of our religion, has gradually increased from the era of the revival of letters to the present time. Among many even of the most eminent theologians of former periods a wild and fanciful method of argumentation seems frequently to have prevailed, which now has no place, unless in the fanaticism of the vulgar. Doctrines were then promulgated, and evidence adduced, of which men, whom we deservedly esteem bigotted and ignorant, would now justly be ashamed. The simplicity of the Christian doctrines has been vindicated from superstition: the zealots of prejudice are diminished in number; and if freedom of discussion may be supposed, on one hand, to have multiplied the ranks of infidelity; on the other hand, we may assert a far greater increase of those who believe upon rational and sincere conviction.

If such be the circumstances of our religion, we ought, undoubtedly, to consider it as attended with the most signal success; with such success, as always must be the principal

cipal object of a wise contriver, looking rather to general than to particular consequences. The hopes of delusion are uniformly rested on popular ignorance and superstition. The delusion ceases when it is exposed to the animadversion and effect of cool and critical inquiry. It is then dissipated by either an immediate or gradual destruction. Such is the policy, and such the end of craft. It is the policy of wisdom, on the other hand, first to secure a real and a sure foundation ; to avert not only the dangers which may impend from without, but also those causes of unseen decay, which may destroy more fatally from within. This is the example set before us by the author of Christianity, who, in the first establishment of his church, built it upon a rock. No imputation of falsehood, and none of error, is consistent with the circumstances of its origin. And in this origin we also see the promise and the means of its future greatness. We see that holy church, unshaken by the erection or the fall of those frail and tottering structures which alien hands have attempted to rear beside it, advance in increasing magnitude under the effect of the same wisdom by which it was established at the beginning. We see that as the corner-stone was laid in truth, so in truth alone

alone will its walls and towers be elevated. The superstructure will be firm, because the foundations are solid.

Such are the prospects which seem naturally to arise on prosecuting the argument of these discourses. And with pointing out such gratifying prospects, the contemplation of which it is so reasonable, as well as so congenial to the best and most benignant sympathies of the heart for us to indulge, these discourses might be concluded. But let me once again recur to the argument itself, an argument founded not in the hopes of the future, and the expectation of things which "though unseen, we yet believe," but in past and positive experience.

Unbelievers object to the evidence of miracles. They suppose that Christianity was established by human means. I have argued with them on their own ground. I have assumed no principles, I have appealed to no facts, which, to my knowledge, they deny. I have endeavoured, however, to prove that those very means, to which they themselves must attribute the success of our religion, were of a nature so unexceptionable; that the wisdom which was displayed by its author, and which even they who disbelieve his miracles cannot
but

but admit that he possessed, was so perfect in the whole, and so complete in all its parts ; as to constitute a decisive evidence of his divine illumination. But divine truth is inseparable from divine wisdom. Since Christ, then, was enlightened from on high, the religion which he taught is true.

That I have endeavoured to draw this conclusion without appealing to the evidence of miracles, will be deemed, I hope, a useful effort. No one, I trust, can suspect, from my having been silent on that evidence, that I mean, in any degree, to question its admissibility, or to depreciate its preeminent importance. On the contrary, I am persuaded that the truth of our religion may be more naturally and directly proved from miracles, than in any other manner, and that the objections of a late celebrated writer to their credibility may justly be considered as unworthy of those great talents, and that philosophical spirit of investigation, which he possessed.

To those persons, however, who attribute to the objections here alluded to a greater weight than we possibly can admit them to possess, an argument to which they are totally incapable of being applied may, probably, be offered with advantage. Should these persons
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be convinced by such an argument, it necessarily must remove their scruples concerning the immediate proofs of miracles.

To the Christian, also, himself it is essential that the separate arguments for the truth of our religion should be separately examined. We have a mass of various evidence, the parts of which unite with and strengthen one another. We have different principles concurring in the same result. The mode, however, by which the proper action and harmonious cooperation of these principles may be discovered, is by treating of them by themselves respectively ; by distinguishing the external proofs from the internal, the proof of the miracles from that of the wisdom of Christ. Otherwise, we must at least reason without precision, or are led, perhaps, into that most mortifying of all errors, the error of arguing in a circle. And though one kind of proof may be more obvious or more essential than the rest, yet, when the truth of Christianity is the question at issue, there exists a momentous interest in all. All, likewise, conspire together. The greatest confers strength upon the least, the least reflects lustre on the greatest. It is but a part of the evidence of Christianity which has been here examined : but no part
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of that evidence can be inconsiderable, or unworthy of express discussion ; for on the strength of the evidence depends the value of the religion, a religion which proposes the happiness of mankind for its object, and claims God himself for its author.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

ΠΡΟΣΠΟΙΗΘΗΝΑΙ δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑρμῆν δέδωκεναι τῆς (τῆς νομῆς) ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίης ἐσόμενης· καθάπερ παρ' Ἑλλήσι ποιῆσαι φασί, ἐν μὲν τῇ Κρήνῃ Μίνωα, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Λυκέργον· τὸν μὲν παρὰ Δίος, τὸν δὲ παρ' Ἀπολλωνος φησανῖα τῆς ἐληφέναι· καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ πλείοσιν ἔθνεσι παραδεδόται τῷ τοῦ γένους τῆς ἐπινοίας ὑπαρῆσαι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον γενέσθαι τοῖς πεσθεῖσι· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀριμασποῖς Ζαθραυσὴν ἰσὺρῶσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα προσποιήσασθαι τῆς νομῆς αὐτῷ δίδοναι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ονομαζομένοις Γέταις Ζαμολξὶν ὡσαύτως τὴν κοινὴν Ἑσίαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰεδαίοις Μωσὴν τὸν Ἰαῶ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν, εἴτε Θευμασὴν καὶ θεῖαν ὅλως ἐννοίαν εἶναι κρινάλης τὴν μέλλουσαν ὠφελῆσαι ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς ὑπεροχὴν καὶ δυνάμιν τῶν εὖρειν λεγομένων τῆς νομῆς ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν οὐχλον μαλλὸν ὑπακῶσεσθαι διαλαβούσας. Diod. Sic. i. p. 84. ed. Rhodmann.

Οὕτω δὲ μετεωρὸν καὶ τετραχύμενον δῆμον ἔμικρας, ὅδε φαυλὲς οἰόμενος εἶναι πραγμάτων μάλα χαρίσασθαι καὶ μετακοσμησάι πρὸς εἰρήνην, ἐπηγαγέτω τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν βοήθειάν, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ θυσίαις καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ χορείαις, ἃς αὐτὸς ὠργιάσει καὶ κατεστησέν, ἅμα σεμνοῖσι διαγωγῇ ἐπιχαρίν καὶ φιλανθρώπων ἡδονὴν ἔχουσας δημαγωγῶν καὶ τιθασσεύων τοὺς θυμοειδές

μοῦσες καὶ φιλοπολεμον. Ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε καὶ φόβος τινὰς ἀπαγγέλλων παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ φασμάσιν δαιμονῶν ἀλλοκετὰ, καὶ φῶνας ἐκ ευμενείας, ἐδύλε καὶ ταπεινὴν ἐποιεῖ τὴν διανοίαν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας. Plutarchi Numa p. 255. ed. Reiske. See also Ibid. Lycurg. p. 167. 227. Middleton's Tracts, 166, 167. Warburton, Div. Leg. Works, vol. i. p. 141.

II. •

“ For all the parts of their publick worship were performed before these publick sacred fires, as all their private devotions were before private fires in their own houses; not that they worshipped the fire, (for this they always disowned,) but God in the fire. For Zoroastres, among other his impostures, having feigned, that he was taken up into heaven, there to be instructed in those doctrines which he was to deliver unto men, he pretended not (as Mahomet after did) there to have seen God, but only to have heard him speaking to him out of the midst of a great and most bright flame of fire; and therefore taught his followers, that fire was the truest Shecinah of the divine presence: that the sun being the perfectest fire, God had there the throne of his glory, and the residence of his divine presence, in a more excellent manner than any where else, and next that, in the elementary fire with us: and for this reason he ordered them still to direct all their worship to God, first towards the sun, (which they called Mithra,) and next towards their sacred fires, as being the things in which God chiefly dwelt; and their ordinary way of worship was to do so toward both.” Prideaux's Connection, vol. i. p. 170, 171. ed. fol. 1717.

(Zeratusht)

(Zeratusht) "Who reformed the old religion by the addition of genii, or angels, presiding over months and days, of new ceremonies in the veneration shown to fire, of a new work which he pretended to have received from heaven, and, above all, by establishing the actual adoration of one Supreme Being.

The reformed religion of Persia continued in force, till that country was subdued by the Musselmans; and without studying the Zend, we have ample information concerning it in the modern Persian writings of several who professed it. Bahman^a always named Zeratusht with reverence: but he was in truth a pure Theist, and strongly disclaimed any adoration of the fire, or other elements: he denied that the doctrine of two coëval principles, supremely good and supremely bad, formed any part of his faith: and he often repeated with emphasis the verses of Firdausi on the prostration of Cyrus and his paternal grandfather before the blazing altar: "Think not that they were adorers of fire: for that element was only an exalted object, on the lustre of which they fixed their eyes: they humbled themselves a whole week before God: and if thy understanding be ever so little exerted, thou must acknowledge thy dependance on the being supremely pure." Sir W. Jones's 6th Anniversary Disc. Works, I. p. 89, 90.

III.

The opinions of Cicero on this subject were probably derived from Plato. The foundation of Plato's reasoning consists in the expediency of deceit in cer-

^a Persian reader to Sir William Jones.

tain cases, for the purposes of government. Συχνῇ τῷ ψευδὲς καὶ τῇ ἀπάτῃ κινδυνεύει ἡμῖν δεῖσθαι χρῆσθαι τῆς ἀρχοντας ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἀρχομένων. De Rep. lib. v. p. 459. ed. Serrani. See also lib. ii. p. 382. iii. 413. De Leg. ii. 663. and Mosheim de turbata per recentiores Platonicos ecclesia, cap. 43. The same maxim, in common with the rest of the political philosophy of Plato, is adopted in the Stromata of Clements Alexandrinus, i. §. 24. p. 417. ed. Potter.

For additional observations on the fact that religion was considered by the heathen lawgivers, and philosophers, as a civil ordinance, see Gibbon, chap. xvi. p. 621. 625, 626. 4to ed. and Warburton, Div. Leg. book ii. §. 6. Works, vol. i. p. 435. 439. and note II. Θεις τιμᾶν, καὶ Ἑρῶας ἐγγχωρίως ἐν κοινῇ, ἱσχυμένως νομοῖς πατρίοις, ἰδίᾳ κατὰ δύναμιν συν εὐφημίᾳ, καὶ ἀπαρχαῖς καρπῶν, καὶ πέλανοις ἐπέσεισι. Draconis lex, citante Porphyrio. Ibid. Works, i. 146. "Quæ omnia sapiens servabit, tamquam legibus jussa, non tamquam diis grata. . . . Omnem istam ignobilem Deorum turbam, quam longo ævo longa superstitio congeffit, sic adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum ejus magis ad morem quam ad rem pertinere." Seneca ap. Augustinum De Civ. Dei, vi. 10.

If, as perhaps is the case, Christianity be the only religion, between the established teachers of which numerous and inveterate dissensions have existed, this fact is a strong presumption for the sincerity of their belief. The harmony which subsisted between the priests of heathenism may suggest a very different conclusion.

IV.

A history of Sabatai Sevi extracted from Kider's *Messias*, and apparently the same with that related in the *Imposteurs Insignes*, is detailed by Jortin, *Remarks*, vol. ii. p. 190. &c. ed. Edin. 1805. Voltaire also, in some part of his writings, has inserted a long account of him, to which I am unable at present to refer. Sabatai was of a studious character, and rigorously observed the law of Moses. He elected an apostle for each tribe, and his coadjutor Nathan Benjamin pretended to be Elias. (*Impost. Inf.* 504, 506, 510.) Even after he was thrown into prison, he met with a brother impostor, who contended that there ought to be two Messiahs, the one suffering, the other triumphant. This man claimed the suffering department for himself. But even so they could not agree. (*Ibid.* 531.) Sabatai, after having apostatized, "preached at Constantinople, and drew over many Jews to profess Mohammedism. At last he was committed to prison for the rest of his days, and died A. D. 1679. La Croix saw him, and heard him preach." (*Jortin*, 199, 200.) The Eastern Jews, even thirty-six or thirty-seven years after his death, still continued to believe that he was alive, and that he would shortly appear triumphant. These visionary expectations were kept up by another impostor of the name of Daniel Israel. See the conclusion to *Basnage*, book vii. chap. 34. p. 757: being an extract from a letter written from Smyrna by a Mr. Cuper in 1707.

V.

Ea omnia ex ingenti ista statutorum multitudine, quorum ratio nobis est occulta, nullum alium in finem data sunt, quam ut nos ab idololatria elongarent. Particularia quædam quod attinet, quorum causæ nobis sunt absconditæ, et mihi utilitas illorum ignota, id inde provenit, quod res auditæ non ita se habeant, sicuti res oculis visæ et perceptæ. Quod si vero circumstantialiter omnia et singula ipsorum opera sciremus et audiremus, sine dubio melius quoque nobis constarent rationes et modi sapientiæ in particularibus actibus oblationum, pollutionum, et aliorum, quorum rationem jam ignoro. Ideoque maxima pars præceptorum (sicuti declaravimus) non alio respiciunt, quam ut pravas istas opiniones tollant, maximumque illum laborem, molestiam et defatigationem, quam homines illi in Deorum suorum cultibus habebant, mitigaret : omnia item præcepta tam negativa, quam affirmativa, quorum ratio nobis est occulta, nihil aliud sunt, quam remedia et medicinæ morborum quorundam illius temporis, quæ ad nostram scientiam (Deo sit laus) non pervenerunt. Maimonides, *More Nevochim*, pars iii. p. 507. 508. Buxtorfii. Basileæ. 4to. 1629.

I cannot refuse to subjoin the following extract from Dr. Woodward's Discourse, on the Wisdom of the ancient Egyptians, inserted in the fourth volume of the *Archæologia*.

“ Whatever might be the bent and dispositions of the Israelites, it was Moses's proper business to rectify them. He was not to indulge them in their fancies, but inform them of their duties, and direct them

them to what was fit, reasonable, and consistent with good morals and piety; though that happened to be never so much against their gusts and inclinations, which accordingly he every where did: and there are numerous instances of it through all his government of them. His doing otherwise might, indeed, have shown a great deal of *policy*, but not near so much probity and goodness, as are discoverable through his whole conduct of this great people. I can very easily allow Dr. Spencer that this was the method that Mahomet, Apollonius Tyanæus, and some politicians have taken; nor will I enter into any contest with him, whether the Devil makes use of the same in order to seduce mankind from the worship of God: all which he gives, I think, surely with a little too much looseness, as parallel instances in confirmation of his notion: but this I am mighty sure, Moses was on all occasions very far from it." pp. 281, 282.

M. Saurin also, (*Disc. Historiques*,) if we may judge from the extracts in Le Clerc, (*Biblioth. A. et M. p. 290, &c.*) seems to have reviewed the system of Spencer with great judgment. So far, indeed, as the religion of Moses can be traced to any pre-existing system, it may plausibly be referred to those traditions of the patriarchal age, which the Jews probably retained more accurately than any other nation, even throughout the whole continuance of their Egyptian bondage. It would be highly unfair, in reviewing the institutions of Moses, to confine our attention to the multiplicity of the rites which he enacted, omitting to contemplate the purity of his theological doctrines.

Ἀρχαὶ τοιούτων (ἡ Μωσῆος) ἀπὸ Θεοῦ κατὰ τὰ πατρια τῆς

των προγονων 'Εβραίων Θεολογίας' ἔχει φίλον Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Φοινίκῃν πν, ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐθνεσιν εἰς πλῆθος καταβάλλασιν τὴν σεβασμίον προσηγορίαν, Θίς τε ὁραμένους μὲν τὰς κατ' ἐρανον φώσερας νομιζέουσιν, ἀφανείς δὲ καὶ ἀοράτους, τὰς ἐξ ἀνδρῶν κατοικομένους, ἢ καὶ τοὺς χθονίους καὶ περὶ δαίμονας, κατὰ τὰ προσθέν ἡμῖν ἀπελελεγμένον. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶ πάντων αἰτίας, ἀοράτων τε καὶ ὁρατῶν δημιουργῶ τὴν καταρχὴν τῶ παντός λογῶ πεποιθήμενος, νομοθέτην τῆτον εἶναι διδάσκει τῆς τῶ πάντος συστάσεως, ὥσπερ μίας τίνος μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῶ κόσμῳ βασιλεὺς καταστήσας. παιδεύει τοιγαρὶν ἀρχομένῳ, τὸν ἡγεῖσθαι μὴ μόνον τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸς μικρὸν ὑπερὸν διαταχθέντων ἀνθρώποις νομῶν ἀυτεῖν εἶναι καὶ Κυρίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν ὄλων. Βασιλεὺς γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ νομοθέτην τῶ συμπάντος κόσμῳ περὶσα. Euseb. Præp. Ev. 313, 314. ed. Valesii.

VI.

It is obvious that the validity of the argument intended to be drawn from these observations is not at all affected by the subsequent corruptions of Judaism. The pontifical artifices and ambition of the Levites after the restoration might be adduced, indeed, in confirmation of the argument of these lectures, and to illustrate the different policy which is conspicuous in genuine and in corrupted systems of religion. See Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. lib. i. c. 16, &c.

I had intended to have added in this part of the discourse some observations on the History of Naaman. I hope that I may be excused by the acknowledged difficulty of the subject. Yet I cannot but express my conviction, that when the brevity is considered with which the conversation between Naaman and Elisha is recounted, together with all
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the circumstances of the relation, a candid inquirer cannot refuse to concur in the opinion of Werenfels: that, “omnes qui incurvationem Naamanis viderunt ex omnibus circumstantiis facile dijudicare potuerint; omnia non in honorem idoli fieri, sed ad debitum Regi servitium præstandum.” Diff. de Naamane Syro, cap. 21. Opusc. vol. i. Lugd. 1772. See also cap. 22. and Lettres de quelques Juifs à Voltaire, vol. i. part. ii. Lettre VII. §. 2. p. 304. The opinion, however, of Bochart, which seems to be approved in note (1) p. 307, is scarcely defensible.

Concerning the brazen serpent which in early times was objected to as superstitious, see the Preface to Peters on Job, p. 62, &c. 8vo. For observations also on this subject, and others of a similar kind, see Lettres de quelques Juifs, vol. i. part. ii. Lettre IV. §. 7. and Lettre V. §. 2. &c.

VII.

“Multa nomina antiquæ superstitionis, multi ritus et cæremoniæ retentæ, sed pia adhibita interpretatione omnia in melius versa, planeque, ut alicubi ait Beda, *pertinaci paganismo mutatione subventum est, quum rei in votum sublatio potius irritasset.*” I. Casaubon. in Baronium Exercitat. 16. cap. 43. p. 545. ed. Lond. 1614. fol. “Hinc igitur est quod sacramenta Patres appellarunt mysteria, *μυσταις, τελείας, τελειώσεις, εποπείας* five *εποφείας, τελεσθρια, item τελεστικά aut τελειώτικά μυστηρια, τελειωτικας θεωσεις, ιεραρχικας τελείας*, interdum vero orgia sed rarius. Id. p. 550. Dionysius (Areop.) cap. 5, universam των τελετων την ιεραργιαν distinguunt in tres actiones quæ et ritibus et temporibus erant divisæ.

visæ. Prima est καθαρισ, altera μυσις, tertia τελειωσις, quam et εποψιαν sæpe nominat." Ibid. p. 551.

The Pagan mysteries were nocturnal. So, very frequently, was the celebration of the Christian rites; but this probably may have been a consequence of persecution. "Formulæ illi in mysteriis peragendis usurpatæ, 'Procul este profani,' respondet in Liturgia hæc per diaconos pronuntiari solita, ὅσοι κατηχημένοι προελθῆτε, vel ἐξω περιπατεῖτε ὅσοι ενεργημένοι, ὅσοι αμυνται." p. 555. "Ita universam doctrinam Christiani veteres distinguebant in τα εκφορα et τα απορρηα. Basilus de Sp. S. cap. 27. doctrinæ Christianæ duas partes facit, τὰ κηρυγμαῖα καὶ τὰ δογμαῖα τὰ δογμαῖα, inquit, σιωπαῖαι τὰ τε κηρυγμαῖα δημοσιεύειαι." I. Cas. ubi supra, 555, 556. "Μηδὲ εκφορα τοις ἐξω τα πολλὰ των ἡμετερων μυστηριων ειναι." Greg. Naz. cit. ibid. "εἰσιν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν κατ' επικρυψιν λογοι τινες· οὐκ ἀρνησομαι." Idem. ibid. p. 559. "Ἰσασιν οἱ μεμυημενοι." Chrysostom. ibid. 556. "Quod si quædam non passim omnibus communicentur, non magis eo nomine reprehendi jure Christianos posse a paganis, quam suos ipsi philosophos reprehendant disciplinam suam dividere solitos in ἐξωτερικὰ καὶ ἐσωτερικὰ." Origen. ibid. 559. See also Tertullian de Corona Militis, cap. 3. and Confessional, 2d ed. p. 334.

VIII.

See Eusebius on the Worship of Martyrs, quoted in Jortin's Remarks, ii. 9. and Jortin, ibid. 11, 12.

The following extracts also, from writers cited by Beaufobre, Hist. de Manicheisme, vol. ii. book ix. cap. 3, and 4. will show the early and studied similarity

ity which existed between Pagan idolatry and the ceremonies observed in honour of Christian saints.

“Sacrificia vero eorum vertistis in Agapas, idola in martyres, quos votis similibus colitis: defunctorum umbras vino placatis et dapibus: solennes gentium dies cum ipsis celebratis, ut calendas, et solstitia: de vita certe mutastis nihil. Estis sane schisma a matrice sua diversum nihil habens nisi conventum.”
Faustus apud Augustinum cited p. 632.

“Ενθα, (at the burial place of Polycarp) ὡς δυναλον, ἡμιν συναγομενοις, εν αγαλλιασει και χαρα παρεξει ο κυριος επιτελιν την τε μαρτυριαν αυτη ημεραν γενεθλιον.” Eusebius, *ibid.* 642.

“ Ipsa et Senatus lumina
Quondam Luperci et Flamines
Apostolorum et Martyrum
Exosculantur limina.” Prudentius.

See also Fortunatus, Jerom, and Paulinus, cited to the same purport, pp. 660, 661, 662. The similar practices of Heathenism are obvious.

Sulpicius Severus seems to have been the first Christian who introduced the use of images into the western empire. He caused them to be set in a consecrated place adjoining to the church, where they were exhibited not to receive honour, but for the purpose of encouraging imitation. We are informed by Gregory of Nyssa, that in his time pictures expressing the labours of martyrs were suspended in churches. Such pictures only as related to scriptural subjects had been before admitted into them. *Ibid.* p. 637.

The following passage is cited by Mosheim, vol. i. p. 100. from the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus.

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“Cum animadvertisset quod ob corporeas delectationes et voluptates simplex et imperitum vulgus in simulacrorum cultûs errore permaneret, permittit eis, ut in memoriam et recordationem sanctorum martyrum sese oblectarent, et in lætitiâ effunderentur, quod successu temporis aliquando futurum esset, ut sua sponte ad honestiorem et accuratiorem vitæ rationem transirent.” See also Tertullian de Oratione, cap. 12. and De Idololatria, 15. “Τὴς γὰρ οἰκνῶντες νικῶντες ἀνίσταίξει τοῖς ὑμῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τῆς μὲν φρενὸς ἀπὸ φανεί, τῆς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων ἀνέναντι γέγραπται.” Theodoret. ap. Beaufobre, p. 673. And the same writer, speaking of Socrates, declares, “Ἀλλ’ ὁμῶς τῆς τῶν Μαρτύρων τιμῆς καὶ τετυχηκεν. Οὐδε γὰρ σῆκον ἐκείνῳ καὶ εἰδὲμαυτο, εἴτε τέμενος ἀπεφιερωσαν, εἴτε πανηγυρεῖς ἀπεκλήρωσαν οἱ τῶν ἐκείνων λόγων μετελλήκοις. Ibid.

A multitude of other authorities render the judgment of Beaufobre unimpeachable. “Nous ne hazarderons rien, quand nous dirons que presque toutes les cérémonies, qui composoient l’adoration Payenne, commencèrent dès le tems de St. Augustin de se pratiquer dans le culte des saints.” Ibid p. 658.

“If the Christians abolished the colleges of the augurs, and the method of inquiring into futurity by the flight of birds, and the entrails of victims, they yet invented the art of judicial astrology in its place.”

Montesquieu, De la Grandeur des Romains, et de leur Décadence, chap. 21. See Mosheim i. 191. 206. and Gibbon, chap. 49. vol. v. p. 89, &c. 4to.

The ceremonies attending the feast of the Purification on the second day of February were borrowed also from those heathen rites which were practised in Rome at the same period of the year. (Mosheim i. 466.)

466.) It has been asserted, and is particularly curious, if it be true, that the mode in which this feast is celebrated (namely, with a great profusion of burning tapers, whence arises its name of Candlemas) is derived from a heathen festival on the same day, in honour of Proserpine, whom the Roman matrons, in allusion to the known fable, pretended to seek by torch-light. The testimony of Romish writers upon the subject is express.

“Quid est autem quod in hoc festo cæreos portamus accensos?—Gentiles enim Februarium mensem inferis dedicaverunt, eo quod, sicut putabant, sed errabant, in principio ejus mensis Proserpina rapta fuerat a Plutone: quam quia mater ejus Ceres facibus accensis in Æthna tota nocte per Siciliam quæsisse credebatur, et ipsi ad commemorationem ipsius facibus accensis in principio mensis urbem de nocte lustrabant. Unde festum istud appellabatur Amburbale. Cum autem sancti patres consuetudinem istam non possent penitus extirpare, constituerunt, ut in honore beatæ Virginis Mariæ cæreos portarent accensos. Et sic quod prius fiebat ad honorem Cereris, modo fit ad honorem virginis. Et quod prius fiebat ad honorem Proserpinæ, modo fit ad laudem Mariæ.” D. Innocentii III. Papæ in festo Purif. Mariæ, Sermo I. p. 109. Opp. Coloniæ, 1575.

“Romani olim in hoc mense tria festa luminaria celebrabant. Primum in honorem Proserpinæ. Secundum in honorem Februæ. Tertium in honorem totius curiæ infernalis. Siquidem secundum eorum fabulas Proserpinam speciosam puellam flores colligentem Pluto Deus infernalis concupiscens rapuit, et accipiens in sponsam, Deam fecit. Mulieres ergo

ergo *Romanæ* * tota nocte eam cum luminaribus quærentes, responsum acceperunt, quod Pluto eam rapuit, et in sponsam accepit. Singulis igitur annis mulieres Romanæ in kalendis Febr. lumina deferebant tota nocte in memoriam Proserpinæ raptæ, et in Deam translatae. Secundo, in honorem fecerunt Februæ, &c." Jacobus de Voragine De Purif. B. Mariæ Virginis, Sermo V. ed. 4to. Moguntiae 1616. p. 105.

Both the authors here cited were of the thirteenth century, and, it may be presumed, would not have confessed the fact which they relate, had they been prepared to deny it. I wish, however, that, though the one was a Pope, and the other an Archbishop, they had condescended to say on what grounds they assert this celebration of a feast of Proserpine in ancient Rome, during the month of February. Hospinian, Priestley, and the author of the *History of Religious Ceremonies*, who mention the same story, have not supplied any additional authority from writers "*melioris ævi*." (Hosp. de Origine Fæstorum Christianorum. f. 33. p. 2. Tig. 1593. *Corruptions of Christianity*, i. 377, 378. Birm. 1782. Picart. i. p. 376. Engl. Tr.) The rites practised during the month of February at Rome were, in general, of an expiatory character. Does this circumstance support the above relation?

IX.

See Erasmus Coll. Naufragium, and Peregrinatio Religionis ergo. I have somewhere seen the following quotation from Lactantius, (l. ii. cap. 17.) but on re-

* An error of transcribers, as I suppose, or of the press.

ferring

ferring to the place cited am unable to find it. "Mali angeli fumerunt olim nomen Jovis, Junonis, Apollinis, &c. quos Gentiles deos esse credebant, nunc S. Sebastiani, Barbaræ, &c. nomen habent, et aliorum."

"Pour mesme occasion, il me semble que lors au lieu des *Pervigilia*, et *lectisternia* Payens, les Chrestiens se resjouyrent aux veilles et anniversaires de leurs martirs. Et pour monstrier qu'ils avoient soin des biens et de l'abondance publique, au lieu de *Februa*, *Vinalia*, *Ambarvalia*, *Robigalia*, aussi prieres de Payens, festoyer la purification, et les brandons, et en affliction de peste, famine, ou guerre, faire nos processions, rogations et litanies (c'est à dire supplications) esquelles, et aux *Nudipedalia* (c'estoient processions et voyages faits pieds nuds) on appelloit nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, au lieu de Jupiter, et autres faux dieux Payens : ce qui n'estoit Páianiser, mais sagement contremener le Páianisme, et comme un contrefort pour parer aux reproches que les Payens faisoient aux Chrestiens, disans, que depuis leur venue et mespris de la religion ancienne, tout malheur estoit arrivé au monde, tant de guerre que de peste et famine, etans les saisons defaisonsnes, pour la publique impieté." Fauchet, *Estat de la Religion en Gaule du temps de Clovis*, p. 124. *Antiquitez et Histoires Gauloises et Françoises*, 4to. 1611. Geneve. The date of the Epistle Dedicatory is 1599.

"What, I pray you, be such saints with us, to whom we attribute the defence of certain countreyes, spoyling God of his due honour herein, but Dii tutelares of the Gentiles idolaters? Such as were Belus to the Babylonians and Assyrians, Osiris and Isis to the Egyptians,

Egyptians, Vulcane to the Lemnians, and to such other. What bee such faints to whom the safeguard of certaine cities are appoynted, but Dii præfides, with the Gentiles idolaters? Such as were at Delphos, Apollo; at Athens, Minerva; at Carthage, Juno; at Rome, Quirinus, &c. What be such faints, to whom, contrary to the use of the primitive Church, temples and churches be builded, and altars erected, but Dii patroni, of the Gentiles idolaters? Such as were in the Capitoll, Jupiter; in Paphus Temple, Venus; in Ephefus Temple, Diana; and such like. Alas, wee seem, in thus thinking and doing, to have learned our religion not out of God's word, but out of the Pagan poets, who say,

*Excessere omnes, adytis, arisque relictis,
Dii quibus imperium hoc steterat, &c.*

That is to say, all the Gods, by whose defence this empire stood, are gone out of the temples, and have forsaken their altars. And where one faint hath images in divers places, the same faint hath divers names thereof, most like to the Gentiles. When you hear of our Lady of Walsingham, our Lady of Ipswich, our Lady of Wilsdon, and such other: what is it but an imitation of the Gentiles idolaters? Diana Agrotera, Diana Coriphea, Diana Ephefia, &c. Venus Cypria, Venus Paphia, Venus Gridia.—And they have not only spoyled the true living God of his due honour, in temples, cities, countreyes, and lands, by such devices and inventions as the Gentiles idolaters have done before them: but the sea and waters have as well special faints with them, as they had gods with the Gentiles, Neptune, Triton, Ne-reus, Castor and Pollux, Venus, and such other. In
whose

whose places be come Saint Christophe, Saint Clement, and divers others, and specially our Lady, to whom shipmen sing, Ave maris stella. Neither hath fire scaped the idolatrous inventions. For, instead of Vulcan and Vesta, the Gentiles gods of the fire, our men have placed Saint Agatha, and make letters on her day for to quench fire with. Every artificer and profession hath his special saint as a peculiar god. As for example, schollers have St. Nicholas and St. Gregory, painters St. Luke, neither lacke souldiers their Mars, nor lovers their Venus, amongst Christians!" The 3d part of the Sermon against Perill of Idolatry, 2d tome of Homilies, London, 1633.

See Middleton's Letter from Rome, 131, 133, 137, 143, &c. &c. Warburton's well known opinion, "that the very same spirit of superstition, operating in equal circumstances, made both Papists and Pagans truly originals," will hardly be contended for as true, though every paradox of that great prelate well deserves to be studied for its ingenuity. See Div. Leg. book iv. §. 6. the two last pages, with the note against Middleton, and Middleton's Postscript to the Letter from Rome: and Gibbon, at the close of chap. 28.

X.

For an account of the enthusiasm, the visions, and the ecstasies of Loyola, see Bouhours, Vie de St. Ignace, p. 49—52. ed. Paris. 1680. Benard, i. p. 8. Stillingfleet's Works, v. 118, 119. Pasquier, Cat. des Jesuites, chap. 17. He pretended to have received a divine sanction to the constitutions of the order, and prophetic revelations of its future greatness.

ness. (*Histoire de l'admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuscoa, à la Haye, 1764. vol. i. p. 177, 178. Directorium in Exercitia Spiritualia, cited Histoire Générale des Jésuites, 4 vol. Amst. 1761. vol. i. p. 7.*) His followers have been very far from doubting the reality of these magnificent gifts of the Holy Spirit. "*Scriptit illa quidem (exercitia spiritualia) Ignatius, sed dictante Maria.*" *Imago primi Sæculi, cited Hist. Gen. des Jéf. i. 18.* "*Novissime autem diebus istis locutus est nobis (Deus) in filio suo Ignatio, quem constituit hæredem universorum.*" *Auct. Jéf. cited ibid. iii. 233.* To this language corresponds the print prefixed to Tanner's "*Societas Apostolorum imitatrix,*" where St. Ignatius is represented "*dans une nuage, d'où, comme un autre Messie, il répand sur toute la terre son esprit sous des formes de langues de feu.*" Benard, D. P. p. 69. I cannot, however, but suppose, that these pretensions of the founder of the order of the Jesuits may be referred with more propriety to enthusiasm, than to any studied imitation of the intercourse which Lycurgus is said to have held with Apollo, or Numa with the nymph Egeria. See Chalotais, p. 45, 46. Yet some presumptions of imposture may be alleged against Loyola himself. When Salmonet and Brouet, two of the original members of the Jesuit Society, were appointed Papal nuncios to Scotland, he directed them to pursue that system of accommodation, for which the order has been since so particularly distinguished. Benard, i. 56. Towards the end of his career, the spirit of insincerity is still more apparent. Dom Inigo, ii. 146, 147^a. His progress indeed may, I think, easily be

* The whole progress, also, of the Society is said to have been attended

traced from the most frantic enthusiasm to a cool and systematic policy. (See Bouhours, p. 314.) He repeatedly submitted the *Exercitia Spiritualia*, and the Constitutions of the order to the correction of his associates (Bouhours, 426. Benard, i. 105. Geddes's View of the Orders of the Monks and Friars of the Romish Church, p. 106. Tracts, vol. iii.), which he can scarcely be supposed to have done, till the impression was sensibly weakened, that he had written under the influence of the Holy Ghost. That the Constitutions did in fact undergo important alterations, by other hands than those of their first author, is evident not only from testimony, but also from the great judgment, (great, at least, considering the time of their formation,) which is conspicuous in the plan of literary education, which they prescribe for the colleges of the order: a plan which its founder, who was confessedly ignorant, could not possibly have devised. Even though the excellence of this system were not to be inferred from the uncontested superiority of learning, which was possessed by the Jesuits

attended and consecrated by all the lying wonders of the Romish legends. A multitude of Loyola's miracles are recorded by Bouhours, Ribadeneira, and other Jesuits. Ribadeneira is said in the first editions of the Life of Ignatius to have confessed, that this saint did not possess the gift of miracles. He inserted, however, a great number of miracles in an after edition, published in 1612. Dom Inigo, ii. pp. 172, 173:

Instances of the energetic spirit of fanaticism, by which many of the early Jesuits were distinguished, are to be found in all their historians. (See Benard, i. pp. 95, 96. ii. 164.) It would seem from the language of Aquaviva, as reported by M. de la Chalotais, p. 127. that this celebrated general, though no enthusiast himself, was yet certainly desirous to excite enthusiasm in others.

over all the other ecclesiastical societies, it will be sufficiently obvious to any person who will examine particularly that part of the constitutions which relates to it.

XI.

“ Interrogetur, an habuerit, vel habeat conceptus aliquos vel opiniones ab iis differentes, quæ communius ab ecclesia, et doctoribus ab eadem approbatis tenentur; et si quando hujusmodi opiniones animum subierint, num paratus sit ad iudicium suum submitendum, sentiendumque ut fuerit constitutum in societate de hujusmodi rebus sentire oportere.

“ Interrogetur, an quibusvis in scrupulis, vel difficultatibus spiritualibus, vel aliis quibuscunque, quas patiat, vel aliquando pati contigerit, se dijudicandum relinquet, et acquiescet aliorum de Societate, qui doctrina et probitate sunt præditi, sententiis.” Constitutiones et Declarationes examinis generalis Soc. Jesu, 8vo. Romæ 1570. pp. 15, 16, 17.

“ Et exactissime omnes nervos virium nostrarum ad hanc virtutem obedientiæ, in primis summo Pontifici, deinde superioribus societatis exhibendam intendamus: ita ut omnibus in rebus, ad quas potest cum charitate se obedientia extendere, ad ejus vocem perinde ac si a Christo Domino egrederetur (quandoquidem ipsius loco ac pro ipsius amore ac reverentia obedientiam præstamus) quam promptissimi simus, re quavis atque adeo litera a nobis inchoata necdum perfecta studio celeriter obediendi relicta, ad eum scopum vires omnes ac intentionem in Domino convertendo, ut sancta obedientia tum in executione tum in voluntate, tum in intellectu sit in nobis semper

per in omni parte perfecta: cum magna celeritate, spirituali gaudio, et perseverantia quicquid nobis injunctum fuerit obeundo, omnia justa esse nobis persuadendo: omnem sententiam et judicium nostrum contrarium cœca quadam obedientia abnegando, et id quidem in omnibus quæ a superiore disponuntur, ubi definiri non possit (quemadmodum dictum est) aliquod peccati genus intercedere. Et sibi quisque persuadeat, quod qui sub obedientia vivunt se ferri ac regi a divina Providentia per superiores suos finire debent, perinde ac si cadaver essent: quod quoquo-versus ferri, et quacunque ratione tractari se finit: vel similiter atque senis baculus qui ubicunque et quacunque in re velit eo uti, qui eam manu tenet, ei inservit." Ibid. part. vi. §. 1. p. 140, 141.

These principles were afterwards consistently reduced to practice. In the year 1605, the provincial of Chili and Paraguay declared to the Jesuits of his province, "que l'intention du Général de la compagnie étoit que ceux qui demeureroient dans son diocese fussent entre ses mains comme des ouvriers, dont il pouvoit disposer absolument." Charlevoix, Hist. du Paraguay, vol. ii. p. 10. 12mo.

XII.

See Chalotais, pp. 30, 31—34. note (n). The General could originate all measures without efficient controul. (Arrêt du Parlement de Bretagne, note, "Consilium vero," &c. ibid. 194.) He is supposed, indeed, by the Formula Societatis Jesu, which is recited in the bull for the formation of the order, to convene on important occasions a considerable number of its members: but this direction seems to be

given with a view solely to the benefit of their advice, not the concurrence of their authority ; for the Formula proceeds , “ Jubendi autem jus totum penes Præpositum erit.” See the Bull cited in the *Mercurie Jesuite*, i. p. 306. “ Nam licet Generalis habeat suos consiliarios, tamen non tenetur stare ipsorum consilio, sed est Dominus Dominantium, et facit quod vult, nullis legibus adstrictus, unde mortificat, et vivificat, deprimit et exaltat quem vult, ac si esset Deus qui liber esset ab omni animi perturbatione, et non posset errare.” Memorial presented to Clement VIII. *ibid.* ii. 200. See Mariana, *Discours des défauts du gouvernement des Jes.* *ibid.* vol. ii. chap. 10.

“ Visum est nobis in Domino . . . nullas constitutiones, declarationes, vel ordinem ullum vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere . . . nisi superior ea . . . in virtute obedientiæ juberet.” *Const.* cited Chalotais, p. 34. note (m).

“ Expedit in primis ad profectum, et valde necessarium est ut omnes perfectæ obedientiæ se dedant, superiorem (quicumque ille sit) loco Christi Domini nostri agnoscetes,” &c. *Const.* p. 55.

XIII.

“ Cum autem communicatio, quæ cum amicis et sanguine junctis verbo aut scripto fit, potius ad quietis perturbationem, quam ad eorum qui spiritui vacant profectum, præsertim in initiis facere soleat: interrogentur, num contenti sint cum hujusmodi non communicare, nec literas accipere, nec scribere ; nisi aliqua occasione Superiori aliter videtur ; et quamdiu domi fuerint, num contenti sint ut videantur literæ omnes, et quæ ipsis scribentur, et quæ ipsi aliis scribent ;

bent; ei, cui hujusmodi munus commissum est, cura relicta, ut eas det, vel non det, quemadmodum in Domino nostro magis expedire judicabit. Et ita curandum ei est, ut omnem carnis affectum erga sanguine junctos exuat, ac illum in spirituales convertat; eosque diligat eo solum amore, quem ordinata charitas exigit, ut qui mundo ac proprio amori mortuus Christo Domino nostro soli vivit, eumque loco parentum, fratrum, et rerum omnium habet.”

Exam. Gen. Const. cap. 4. “Pauperibus dispensare debent, ut consilium evangelicum, quod non dicit, Da consanguineis, sed pauperibus, perfectius sequantur; et ut melius exemplum omnibus exhibeant inordinatum erga parentes affectum exuendi, et incommoda inordinatæ distributionis, quæ a dicto amore procedit, declinandi; atque ut ad parentes et consanguineos recurrendi et ad inutilem ipsorum memoriam aditu præcluso, firmiter et stabiliter in sua vocatione perseverent.” Ibid.

There is a letter of Goswin Nickel, General of the Society, “De Nationali, Provincialique pernicioso Spiritu in Societate vitando,” (Corpus Inst. Soc. Jesu, 2 vol. a Meursio, Antwerp. 1702. vol. ii. p. 860.) from which the following sentence is extracted.

“Istum ego ventum (Matt. vii. 27.) RR. PP. non alium in præsentia dixerim quam hunc de quo agere constitui, peregrinum Spiritum, frigidum, maleficum, plane horribilem et pestilentem ventum: quippe, qui, non fastigiorum solum pinnulas regulasque tectorum, damno utique reparabili, decutere contentus, totum ipsum molis quamlibet solidæ corpus, a quatuor, ut de Jobi domo scribitur, complexus angulis robusteque succutens, universas simul ædificii compages laxat,

et visendam ingentis operis fabricam in rudrum informium acervos momento commutat." p. 861.

XIV.

"Seducitur a studiorum Præfecto adolescens, Jesuitarum disciplinæ qui traditur, et cubiculo includitur, ubi Jesuita quidam magnum volumen, cujusmodi sunt mensariorum tabulæ sive acceptorum expensorumque codices, proferre solet, in eumque omnia quæ roganti responderit, magna cum fide præscribere: Quod ipsi nomen sit? quæ ætas? quas prius scholas adiisset? qui essent parentes? quæ illorum ætas? quis census? haberentne prædia et fundos? et ubi? quas cognationes, consanguinitates, affinitates, et utrum ex iis adhuc hæreditatum aliquarum accessionem sperarent? tum utrum essent sorores, cæque innuptæ et nubiles, an jam nuptæ et quibus? Facile conjicere est cui usui Jesuitæ sibi reservent arcanos istos codices, et quid istis examinibus velint." De causis publici erga Jesuitas odii Differtatio, p. 337, 8. Merc. Jesuit. vol. ii. "Ideo quicumque hanc societatem in Domino sequi volet, et in eadem ad majorem Dei gloriam manere, priusquam ad primam probationem accedat, vel, postquam ingressus fuerit, antequam generaliter examinetur, vel, post examen, intra aliquot menses, (ni Superiori differendum videretur) sub sigillo confessionis vel secreti, vel quacunque ratione ei placuerit, et ad majorem ipsius consolationem fuerit, debeat conscientiam suam magna cum humilitate, puritate, et charitate manifestare, re nulla qua dominum universorum offenderit, celata, et totius anteaetæ vitæ rationem integram, vel certè rerum majoris momenti, Superiori, qui tum fuerit, societatis,

cietatis, vel cui ex præpositis, vel aliis ex inferioribus ille injungeret, prout magis convenire videretur, reddat." Const. et decl. cap. iv. p. 32.

Postquam primo aliquis eorum integram vitæ rationem Superiori domus reddidit, ab eodem inchoando, prioribus quæ eidem dixit non repetitis, iterum post semestre proximum plus minus ei, vel cui a Superiore fuerit constitutum, vitæ rationem reddet. Deinde a secunda hac ratione incipiendo eodem ordine procedetur: et sexto quoque mense rationem hanc sui quisque reddet. Ultima vero circiter triginta dies antequam professi futuri suam professionem et coadjutores sua vota emittant, reddetur." Ibid. p. 33.

"Ad majorem in spiritu profectum, et præcipue ad majorem submissionem et humilitatem propriam interrogetur, an contentus sit futurus ut omnes errores et defectus ipsius et res quæcunque quæ notatæ in eo et observatæ fuerint, Superioribus per quemvis qui extra confessionem ea acceperit, manifestentur." Ibid. See Benard, i. 63.

XV.

"Conferet ut Superiores aliquando occasionem præbeant iis qui probantur, exercendi obedientiæ et paupertatis virtutem, eosdem tentando ad majorem ipsorum utilitatem spiritualem, eo modo, quo Dominus Abraham tentavit: ut et specimen virtutis suæ præbeant, et in eadem crescant. In eo tamen quoad ejus fieri possit, mensura et proportio juxta unius cujusque vires ut discretio dictabit, observetur." Declar. Const. c. 4. See also Benard, i. 60. *Bonhours, Vie de St. Ignace, 324, &c. Chalotais, 37, 160, 161.*

In

In the *Catechisme des Jesuites* is given a copy of one of the blank schedules which were filled up by the rectors of the Jesuit seminaries, with a particular account of those persons whose education they superintended. There are separate columns for observations on *Ingenium, Judicium, Prudentia, Experientia, Profectus in literis, Naturalis complexio, Ad quæ societatis ministeria talentum habeat.* p. 279. See p. 280. livre ii. chap. 4. ed. Delft. 1717.

It may be observed also, that only the *profès des quatre vœux* were under the necessary obligation of wearing the peculiar habit of the society. (*Hist. Gen. des Jesuites.* iii. 250, 251.) Laymen were admitted into the order, for the purpose of extending its influence as far as possible. Jesuit architects and masons were to be found in Paraguay. (Second Letter of F. Cajetan Cattaneo: Muratori on Paraguay, Engl. Transl. p. 249.) Turks and Armenians, and even Lutherans, were adopted into it in India. Norbert, iii. 90.

“M. de Valory (a Prussian resident at Canton) pressed a rich merchant of Hamburg his friend, a Lutheran, and married, to become a member of the Free Mason Society, to which he himself belonged. The merchant was desirous, in the first instance, to know the nature of the fraternity, into which he was invited. M. de Valory assured him, that there was no circumstance attending it, at which he need be alarmed, though, indeed, its members promised upon oath to preserve an inviolable secrecy as to what passed among them. On the mention of secrecy the merchant replied, that there was one person, and one only, in whom he necessarily placed implicit confidence,

dence, and from whom he could have no secrets. On being strongly pressed to declare who this person could be, since, as he said, it was not his wife, and, as he was a Lutheran, it could not be his confessor; he was at length obliged to avow himself to be a Jesuit, to declare that he had taken the vow of obedience, and was bound to keep nothing secret from the Superior of the order at Canton. His friend, astonished at this disclosure, enquired how the character of Jesuit could be consistent with his profession of Lutheranism, and his being married? The merchant replied, that these circumstances created no difficulty. —But what can possibly have induced you to become a Jesuit?—I am by this means supplied with correspondents in all parts of the world, who are of great service to me in commerce." *Hist. Gen. des Jes.* vol. iii. 261, 262.

XVI.

"Je veux," says the author of the *Reflexions d'un Portugais*, "que St. Ignace de Loyola n'ait point entendu finesse, quand il s'est astreint avec ses compagnons à obéir aveuglement au Pape, mais son successeur le fameux Lainés et les autres Supérieurs, donnant à la politique ce qui n'étoit que du ressort de la religion, prévirent que ce vœu, bien loin de les assujettir davantage, seroit la base de leur grandeur future," *Reflexions d'un Portugais*, London, 12mo. 1760. Pref. p. vii.

See Chalotais, pp. 21, 22, ad fin. 23, sub init. 39. and *Hist. Gen. des Jes.* iv. 103. The following declaration is in a bull of Pius V. "Decernentes presentes literas nullo unquam tempore per nos aut se-

dem

dem prædictam revocari, aut limitari, aut illis derogari posse; et quoties revocari, alterari, limitari, vel derogari contingat, toties in pristinum et eum in quo ante præmissa erant, statum restitutas, et de novo, etiam sub posteriori data per pro tempore existentem . . . Præpositum generalem . . . concessas esse et fore." Chalotais, p. 95.

"Quæ postquam mutatae, alteratae, seu de novo conditæ fuerint, eo ipso Apostolica auctoritate confirmatae censeantur." Bull of 1543. Hist. Gen. des Jesuites, i. 104. "Quoties dubium fuerit in intellectu privilegiorum nostræ societatis, semper per jurisperitos et alios judices in favorem societatis fiat interpretatio." Priv. Jes. cit. Plaidoyer pour le Syndic des creanciers des Sieurs Lioncy freres et Gouffre, &c. Paris, 1761. p. 142, 143.

The Jesuits, in truth, whenever the court of Rome seemed indisposed to their interests, did not hesitate to assume and to promulgate doctrines entirely inconsistent with the very foundations of the Papal power. (Monarchie des Solipses, p. 263, 264.) The author of the *Imago primi Sæculi* asserted, that the decisions of the Pope were then only infallible, when the order of the Jesuits had been consulted. (Ibid. p. 31.) Innocent XI. in 1668. condemned sixty-five propositions selected from the Jesuit casuists, which, however, the order continued to defend. (Histoire de Port Royal par J. Racine, p. 157. Oeuvres, vol. i.) The missionaries of the Jesuits have, in many instances, particularly in India, entirely abandoned their obedience to the holy See under various pretences; such as a want of proper documents or powers in the apostolical legates, an alleged informality in the apostolical

stolical decrees, or deficient evidence of their authenticity. In some cases they pretended that the Pope had decided without sufficient knowledge, and appealed to his deliberate judgment, when he should be better informed upon the question at issue: in others, presuming, probably, on their distance or their power, more than on the justice of their cause, they scrupled not an open resistance to his authority. Their conduct in this respect was so glaring, that a decree passed the congregation De Propaganda in 1684, prohibiting the admission of novices into the society, till its obedience should be completely established. (Norbert, *Mémoires Historiques, Apologétiques, &c.* vol. iii. p. 435. à Londres, 1751.) Even while the destruction of the order was preparing, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a similar resistance seems to have been dreaded by Benedict XIV. whose brief for the reformation of the Portuguese Jesuits is said to have been dispatched from Rome, “*in scia Societate, in scis Cardinalibus.*” *Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques, et des Ordonnances du Roi de Portugal*, Amst. 1761. Avertissement prefix. p. 42. Lainès had set the example of disobedience to the Pope at a very early period. (Benard. livre iv. §. 43, &c.

XVII.

The authors of this extraordinary code, conscious of the just clamour which would be excited by its public notoriety, obliged all members of the order to maintain a profound secrecy respecting it^b. The

^b *Regulæ Communes*, §. 38. cited *Monarchie des Solipfes*, p.

whole of their mysterious polity was never discovered to the ordinary, nor even to all the professed Jesuits. "To the novices are communicated only the Apostolical Letters of Julius III. the abridgment of the Constitutions, and the common rules. Nor have the other Jesuits access to any additional information concerning the nature of their Institutes, but such as relates to the charge with which they are immediately intrusted^c." No Jesuit, therefore, who might be expelled from the Society, could possibly reveal its secrets in any complete and satisfactory manner^d. In a letter from one of the assistants of the order at Rome, written towards the middle of the eighteenth century, there are expressions of the following import. "It is only since my arrival here, that I understand any thing of the nature of our Society. Its

220. or see the *Secreta Monita Societatis Jesu*, (3d ed. London, Lat. and English, 1759.) Pref. p. xvi. "Cavendum omnino ne in manus externorum hæc monita deveniant, quia finistre ea interpretarentur destinationi nostræ invidentes: quod si hoc accadat (quod absit) negentur hæc esse sensa societatis, idque per illos confirmando e nostris, de quibus certo constat, quod ea ignorent: opponanturque his monita nostra generalia, et ordinationes sed regulæ impressæ vel scriptæ." But I suspect this work to be a forgery. This studious secrecy may be compared with the solicitude of the primitive Christians to submit their laws to the observation and cognizance of the Emperors.

^c *Monarchie des Solipses*, p. 78. Decl. in exam. cap. i. cit. *Hist. Gen. des Jes.* iii. 239.

^d *Histoire du Paraguay sous les Jesuites*, par Bernardo Ibañez de Echavarrí, 3 vol. 8vo. Amst. et Leipsic. 1780. vol. i. p. 187.

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government is a separate science, of which the Provincials themselves understand nothing. It is necessary to be in the post which I occupy to begin to comprehend it^e." The still farther precaution was adopted by the General, of using cyphers in his correspondence; and it was directed, that immediately on the death of any person, who had in his possession letters from the General, the Assistants, or the Provincial of the order, such letters should instantly be burned without being read^f.

Of the edicts which possessed the force of laws among the Jesuits, there are many, it is believed, which they have never printed^g; and even the *Constitutions*, properly so called, they have seldom committed to the press, but in the colleges of the order. Whenever they ventured to print this work elsewhere, they always took precautions to secure the whole impression^h. It was, however, clearly impossible, that these precautions could be universally successful. The order has at all times had too many enemies to be able, for any long period, to retain the exclusive possession of a volume, numerous copies of which were printed, though not published, and which all the activity of malice was exerted to procure.

^e Ibid. 194. See *Monarchie des Solipses*, p. 55. note (2). and *Erreurs impies et Éditieuses que les Jésuites ont enseignées, &c.* Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques, &c. vol. i. p. 308.

^f Chalotais, 160, 161. Echavarri, *Histoire du Paraguay*, i. 195, 196. "On ne prend ces précautions qu'avec les ennemis. Le régime des Jésuites est-il en état de guerre avec tous les empires?" Chalotais, *ubi sup.*

^g Chalotais, p. 20.

^h Ibid. p. 27.

Hospinian, in the *Historia Jesuitica*, published in 1619, gives a complete abstract of the Constitutions. They are quoted, with accurate knowledge, in the *Catechisme des Jesuites* of Pasquier, who died in 1615¹. M. Benard, the author of the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, printed at Utrecht in 1741, refers to the edition of Lyons in 1607; and if I mistake not, I have somewhere seen mention of an edition in 1599. The extracts from the constitutions of the Jesuits, which are to be found in the *Mercure Jesuite*, are taken from an edition printed at Rome in 1583. The citations in these notes are extracted, wherever the constitutions are immediately referred to, from a small volume in the British Museum, *Romæ*, 1570. It is said in the *Monarchie des Solipfes*, p. 116, 117, that a copy escaped from the press of J. Rouffin at Lyons, in 1607, which served as a prototype to several editions in Germany. This list might, I believe, easily be increased, without adding to it editions of later date. The constitutions, as originally drawn up, are of small bulk, and being calculated for a common manual, have, it is probable, been very frequently reprinted. But I have already been more particular in these notices than would be necessary, were it not proper to observe, that the very eminent author of the *History of Charles V.* has expressed himself rather inaccurately on the subject to which they relate.

“It was a favourite maxim,” he says, “with the Jesuits, from their first institution, not to publish the rules of their order. These they kept concealed as

¹ See *Cat. des Jes.* livre ii. chap. i. 10. &c.

an impenetrable mystery. They never communicated them to strangers, nor even to the greater part of their own members. They refused to produce them when required by courts of justice; and, by a strange solecism in policy, the civil power in different countries authorized or connived at the establishment of an order of men, whose constitution and laws were concealed with a solicitude, which alone was a good reason for having excluded them. During the prosecutions lately carried on against them in Portugal and France, the Jesuits have been so inconsiderate as to produce the mysterious volumes of their institute. By the aid of these authentick records, the principles of their government may be delineated, and the sources of their power investigated, with a degree of certainty and precision, which previous to that event it was impossible to attain." Charles V. vol. ii. p. 460. 1st ed.

Now it can scarcely be said, that the constitutions of the Jesuits were kept concealed as an impenetrable mystery, at a time when they had been repeatedly published in the reformed as well as the catholic states of Europe; particularly, as no intimation is given, though the work of Hœspinian is slightly mentioned in a note, that the attempt to conceal them had on the whole been unsuccessful. Dr. Robertson was possibly misled by the following passage in M. D'Alembert's *Essai sur la destruction des Jesuites*. "Cette question fournit au parlement une occasion toute naturelle de demander à voir ces constitutions fameuses, qui jamais n'avaient été ni examinées, ni approuvées avec les formes requises. L'examen de ces constitu-

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tions, et ensuite celui de leurs livres, a fourni des moyens *juridiques* plus que suffisans pour déclarer leur institut contraire aux loix du royaume, à l'obéissance due au souverain, à la sûreté de sa personne, et à la tranquillité de l'état." p. 112, 113. ed. 1765. It is evident, that the notoriety and the authorized promulgation of a work are entirely different.

But it may still be supposed, that, though the Constitutions, in their ancient form, had frequently been made public, they had at different periods experienced important changes, which continued to be kept secret. In this case, the observations of Dr. Robertson might be applicable to the Constitutions, as altered by the later Generals. They also may seem applicable to any other concealed edicts, by whatever title distinguished, which possessed the force of laws among the Jesuits. It is clear, however, to me, that though numerous additions have incontestably been made to the original Constitutions, some, perhaps, such as partially to supersede them, yet no alteration in the letter of the statute has taken place. I have collated several pages, and the most essential passages, of the edition printed at Rome in 1570, and that of Antwerp in 1702, which have both of them the sanction of the Society. So far as I have compared them, they are precisely similar. The chapters and sections are apparently the same in each. The first of these publications is a very small octavo: the second consists of two closely-printed quartos, the greater part of which is occupied by various pieces, of which the date and purport are expressed by their respective titles: such as

Regulæ

Regulæ Societatis Jesu, autoritate septimæ Congregationis generalis auctæ.

Formulæ Congregationum in quarta generali Congregatione confectæ et approbatæ, in sexta et septima recognitæ et auctæ.

The edition of Prague, in 2 vol. fol. 1757, which was communicated to M. de la Chalotais, included more of these pieces, probably, than any which preceded it; but the Constitutions, strictly speaking, occupied but 91 pages in this edition. There seems to be some confusion on the subject, occasioned, perhaps, by an indefinite use of the terms *Institute* and *Constitutions*^k: but, whatever infidelities may have been committed in other instances, there is, I think, no reason to apprehend, that the text of the *Constitutiones et Declarationes examinis Generalis Soc. Jesu, Romæ, 1570*, has at any time been violated. This also, I believe, was a re-impression from a preceding edition in 1550.

The parts taken respectively by Loyola, and by his original associates, in drawing up the Constitutions, it must ever, probably, be impossible to determine. The part taken by Lainés will not, perhaps, very easily be exaggerated. Aquaviva, however, the fifth General of the order, who succeeded to that dignity in 1581, could not have had so important a share in forming the spirit and policy of the Society, as is usually attributed to him. Its spirit had been completely formed before the period of his accession, as the extracts from the early edition of the Constitutions, which I have cited in

^k See Chalotais, 49, 50. Mariana, cap. 15.

the notes to these Lectures, may be of themselves sufficient to evince. Even M. de la Chalotais seems inclined to the common opinion; but had he been confined to the use of the ancient Constitutions alone, that complete exposure of the dangerous organization and policy of the Jesuits, which is effected by his able treatise, would not in any sensible degree have been less striking than it is.

XVIII.

Gluttony was determined by Escobar not to be sinful, "*nisi quis se usque ad vomitum ingurgitet.*" *Lettres Provinciales*, p. 145. Father Bauny seems to be of opinion, that excess in eating and drinking is not properly to be considered as a violation of fasting, because excess is not less unfriendly than abstinence to that bodily vigour, which it is the intention of fasting to enfeeble. (*Portrait au naturel des Jesuites, à la fin du Parallele de la doctrine des Payens avec celle des Jesuites*, Amst. 1731. p. 20.)

For other specimens of the accommodating morality of the Jesuits, see *ibid.* p. 10, &c. "*Qui damnum nullum dedit, rem aliquam accipiens, quia ea dominus non utebatur, non tenetur restituere, si nulli usui est domino futura.*" Emanuel Sa, *verbo furtum*, cap. vi. p. 292. cited *ibid.* p. 14. For their system of mental reservations, see *Lettres Provinciales*, p. 145, 146. Promises, they say, do not oblige, where there has been no intention to perform. (*Ibid.* p. 146, 147.)

"It is evident, therefore," says Lami, "that these ecclesiastics may lawfully vindicate their reputation, so long as they do not exceed the bounds of a moderate and just defence, 'laquelle peut aller jusqu'à tuer les per-

personnes qui les diffament.' They are indeed, in some cases, obliged by the law of charity to defend their honour in this manner: in those cases, namely, where the loss of their individual reputation would tend to the disgrace of the order." Tome v. Disp. 36. no. 118. ed. Anvers. cited *Erreurs Impies et Séditieuses*, &c. Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques, &c. i. 286. See also Busenbaum, cited p. 288. "These means," he says, namely homicide or murder, "are permitted to ecclesiastics, according to the doctrine of probability, for the recovery of their temporal goods." "In certain cases," says Viva, "an innocent person ought to support some degree of defamation, rather than avail himself of this mode of defence." Ibid. 291. "S'il se rencontre une honnête raison de cacher la vérité; comme s'il vous étoit expédient de la déguiser pour la conservation de votre santé, de votre honneur, et de votre bien, de votre personne, et de ceux qui vous appartiennent; et même s'il vous étoit utile de nier une vérité sur laquelle on vous interroge injustement, vous pouvez déguiser et nier la vérité sans commettre aucune faute. Il vous seroit même permis de faire un serment équivoque pour les mêmes raisons." Castropalao, cited ibid. p. 297. See also for many striking extracts of the same kind, illustrating the moral casuistry of the order, Dornford's Translation of Pütter's Historical Development of the present political constitution of the Germanic empire," vol. ii. p. 6. &c. 8vo. 1790. The Jesuits, in truth, according to this system, had good reason to declare, that "les Peres (anciens de l'Eglise) étoient bons pour la morale de leur temps,

mais ils sont trop esloignez pour celle de nôtre." *Provinciales*, p. 72.

For speculations on the lawfulness of tyrannicide, see *Anti-Cotton*, chap. i. (ed. printed at the Hague in 12mo. 1764. and annexed to the *Histoire de Dom Inigo de Guipuscoa*,) and *M de la Chalotais*, p. 62. &c. "In hac causa," says Suarez, "unum sumus." *Chalotais*, 149. The sententious dignity assumed by Molina, in relating the assassination of Henry III. of France by James Clement, is such as to appear worthy of insertion. "Suo sanguine patriæ communis et gentis libertatem redemptam inter ictus et vulnera impense lætabatur; cæso Rege ingens sibi nomen fecit. Cæde cædes expiata, ac manibus Ducis perfide pereuntis¹ regio sanguine parentatum. Monumentum nobile, insigne ad memoriâ, atque mirabile . . . quo principes doceantur impios ausus haud impune cedere. . . . Præclare cum rebus humanis ageretur, si multi homines forti pectore invenirentur pro libertate patriæ, vitæ contemptores et salutis, sed plerosque incolumitatis cupiditas retinet magnis sæpe conatibus adversa. Itaque ex tanto numero tyrannorum, quales antiquis temporibus extiterunt, paucos quosdam numerare licet ferro suorum periisse." Molina, cited *Chalotais* 71, 72.

It cannot be expected, that I should here enter into any inquiry respecting the actual interference of the Jesuits in the various conspiracies, both in England and France, which they are accused of having promoted. They have, however, always been so

¹ Duke of Guise.

ready to justify the conduct of those wretched fanatics who were concerned in them, that they must at least be considered in the light of accessories after the fact. See *Anti-Cotton*, p. 86, 87. The principles, by which the conspiracy of September 1758, against the King of Portugal, is said to have been excited, are perfectly characteristic of the Society. "L'on ne cessoit d'y poser en principe, qu'il seroit fort utile que sa Majesté cessât de vivre," &c. &c. Sentence pronounced Jan. 12, 1759, on the Duke d'Aveiro, the Marchioness de Tavora, and others. *Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques*, &c. vol. i. 220^m.

The versatile system of religion adopted by the Je-

^m The following extract shows the manner in which the Jesuits of France (men undoubtedly less bigotted than the rest of the order) attempted to evade a question from the Parliament of Paris in 1626, as to their opinions respecting the royal prerogative.

Le Parlement. Quant au temporel ! parlez-nous franchement, et nous dites si vous croyez que le Pape puisse excommunier le Roi, affranchir ses sujets du serment de fidélité, et mettre son royaume en proye ?

Les Jésuites. O Messieurs, d'excommunier le Roi : lui qui est le fils aîné de l'Eglise, se donnera bien de garde de rien faire qui oblige le Pape à cela.

Le Parlem. Mais votre Général, qui a approuvé ce livre, tient pour infaillible ce que dessus : Estes vous de différente croyance ?

Les Jéf. Messieurs, lui qui est à Rome ne peut faire autrement que d'approuver ce que la cour de Rome approuve.

Le Parlem. Et votre croyance ?

Les Jéf. Elle est toute contraire.

Le Parlem. Et, si vous étiez à Rome, que feriez vous ?

Les Jéf. Nous ferions comme ceux qui y sont."

Articles des Demandes de Messieurs du Parlement,
Merc. Jéf. i. 889.

suits, (“*pia et religiosa calliditas*,” Im. primi Sæculi 9. Provinciales, p. 154.) is not less remarkable than the looseness of their morals. “L’on peut déposer le personnage de Chrétien, disent ouvertement les Jésuites.” Reflexions simples et naturelles sur ce qui se passe aujourd’hui dans l’Eglise, par l’Auteur du Parallèle, Amst. 1731. p. 23. “Contrition,” they say, “is so little necessary to a communicant, that on the contrary it is prejudicial, since, effacing all sins by itself, ‘elle ne laisseroit rien à faire au sacrement.’” Lettres Prov. p. 168. Escobar, Sirmond, and others, discussed particularly the question, when and how often it is necessary to feel the love of God, and resolved it “de façon que (voyez la bonté de Dieu) il ne nous est pas tant commandé de l’aimer, que de ne le point haïr.” “Vous y verrez donc, que cette dispense de l’obligation *facheuse* d’aimer Dieu est le privilège de la loi Evangélique par dessus la Judaïque.” Ibid. 169. 171.

The whole casuistry of the order is sufficiently, and it is needless to say how pointedly, unfolded in the inimitable Letters of a Provincial. Voltaire, indeed, after justly praising the ability with which these letters are written, proceeds to say: “It is true, that the whole work rests on a false foundation, the extravagant opinions of certain Spanish and Flemish Jesuits being adroitly attributed in it to the whole Society.” Siècle de L. XIV. vol. ii. p. 232. It would have been more correct to have stated, that a great number of individual Jesuits, and particularly the natives of France, did not believe nor teach those profligate doctrines which are exposed by Pascal. To the Society, as a body, they most undoubtedly belong, as Pascal him-

himself has proved. See also the *Histoire de Port Royal*, par J. Racine, p. 154. *Oeuvres*, vol. i. and the *Seconde Requête de l'Université de Paris*, présentée au Parlement en 1644, cited in the Preface to *Les Jésuites criminels de Leze Majesté*, à la Haye, 1759. Pref. p. ix. &c. Voltaire is very generally inclined to represent all controversies between Christians as frivolous,

XIX.

For a brief account of the rise and progress of the Jesuits, see Thuanus, xxxvii. 8. The order was instituted in 1540. Loyola had then nine associates. The college at Coimbra in Portugal was founded in 1541: in the following year that of Goa, and an establishment at Lisbonⁿ. Lainés had the honour, about the same time, of negotiating a marriage between the Princess Mary of Portugal, and Philip II. of Spain. Salmeron and Brouet were appointed Papal nuncios to Scotland and Ireland in 1541. Le Jay, Le Fèvre, and Bobadilla were sent to Ratibon, as the theologians of the Pope, in 1542^o.

In 1545, Salmeron and Lainés were deputed to the Council of Trent^p, where they are said to have

ⁿ Benard, i. 78. Dom Inigo, book iv.

^o Benard, i. p. 55, 56, 77.

^p As Papal theologians. Benard, i. p. 81, 82. *Hist. Gen. des Jéf.* iv. 90. Lainés, however, does not seem to have been so immediately in the service of the Pope, as of the Cardinal de Ferrara; (P. Paolo, *Histoire du Concile de Trent*, par Courayer, ii. 108, 9.) nor does his name occur in the History of the Council, till the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561. The name of Salmeron does not occur so soon. See the Index. Ibid.

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conducted themselves with an arrogance, which ill became the recent origin of their Society. In 1546, the Jesuit Rodriguez was chosen preceptor to one of the sons of the King of Portugal (Benard, i. 89.); and Miron, a few years afterwards, was severely re-proved by Loyola for declining the post of confessor to that monarch. On this occasion, the founder of the order instructed its inferior members to insinuate themselves into all courts, and into the confidence of all sovereigns. (Bouhours, Vie de St. Ignace, p. 460. et suiv. Benard, i. 136, 137.) On the death of Loyola in 1556, the number of the religious of this persuasion amounted to upwards of 1000. (Benard, *ibid.* 197.) Their number in 1608. was estimated at 10,581: in 1710, at 19,998. (Dom Inigo, ii. 148.)

In England, not to mention the numerous conspiracies against the Protestant interest, in which the Jesuits are suspected of having been involved, they eagerly availed themselves of the short triumph of Roman Catholicism, under the bigotted Mary, to endeavour to procure an establishment. They never forgave the injury, which they considered themselves as having received from that Princess, in being refused institution to the monasteries, which had been suppressed by Henry VIII. and which Mary wished, but dared not venture, to restore to the Church. (Benard, i. 183.) As it usually happens, that an ill-regulated zeal is injurious to the cause in which it is employed, so nothing, perhaps, has contributed more immediately to the declension of the Popish party in England, than jealousy of these ecclesiastics; who ever since the Revolution have been confessedly unpopular in this country, even among the Roman Catholics.

lics. Symptoms of such unpopularity began to appear at an earlier period. (Hist. Gen. des Jes. i. 265. p. 3. Amst. 1761.)

An account of the alternate disasters and triumphs of the Jesuits in France would of itself be sufficient to fill a volume. The early and continued opposition of the Sorbonne to their admission both into the kingdom in general, and into the University of Paris in particular, does honour to the penetration of that body of divines; an honour, which, as the Sorbonne is so rarely named *honoris causa*, it would in the present instance be scarcely equitable to withhold. See the Conclusions de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, de l'an 1554. Merc. Jes. i. 320. "Denique in magnum populi gravamen, religionis monasticæ honestatem violare videtur (hæc societas), studiosum pium et perneceffarium virtutum abstinentiarum cæremoniarum et austeritatis enervat exercitium, imo occasionem dat libere apostatandi ab aliis religionibus, debitam ordinariis obedientiam et subjectionem subtrahit, Dominos tam temporales quam ecclesiasticos suis juribus injuste privat, perturbationem in utraque politica, multas in populo querelas, multas lites, diffidia, contentiones, æmulationes, variaque schismata inducit. Itaque, his omnibus atque aliis diligenter examinatis, et perpensis, hæc societas videtur in negotio fidei periculosa, pacis Ecclesiæ perturbativa, monasticæ religionis everfiva, et magis in destructionem quam in ædificationem." Ibid. ad finem.

Notwithstanding all obstacles, the Jesuits at length insinuated themselves into all the provinces of the kingdom, and soon became so powerful, that, though they had been the zealots of the league, though they were

were known to be enemies to the monarch's person, and were suspected of having designs upon his life, they extorted from Henry IV. a recognition of their order. The reasons are well known, which were given by that prince to his minister, for having made so imprudent a concession ^q.

By civil war they introduced themselves into Poland, a country which continued for a long time to be harassed by their intrigues ^r. Their character here was so notorious, that a Moscovite usurper did not hesitate to apply to them for assistance, which was granted ^s.

In Portugal they not only attempted to engross to themselves the whole administration of the government, but are said also to have solicited the King, that it might be enacted, "Que nul à l'avenir ne peut estre Roy de Portugal, s'il n'étoit Jesuite, et esleu par leur ordre, tout ainsi que dans Rome le Pape par le College des Cardinaux." Pasquier, Cat. des Jes. livre iii. chap. 16. The avowal is contained in a state paper of the court of Portugal, dated Feb. 10, 1758, "que, pendant bien des années, on n'a osé exécuter aucun ordre royal, qui fût capable de causer le moindre déplaisir à ces Peres." Instruction à François de Almada de Mendonza, Recueil des Décrets, &c. i. p. 133. Though the court of Portugal, from the time that it resolved on the destruction of the Jesuits, is certainly not more free than any of their pri-

^q Hist. Gen. des Jes. i. 175. 310. Benard, i. 169. ii. 266. Bouhours, 420. Les Jesuites Criminels, pref. p. viii. Sully's Mémoires, vol. ii. p. 279. Engl. Tr. by Mrs. Lennox, 4to.

^r Hist. Gen. des Jes. i. 150, 151. ii. 79, &c.

^s Ibid. i. 248, 9.

vate enemies from the imputation of having calumniated them, it would yet scarcely have made so humiliating a confession, if it had not been founded in truth.

The conduct of the Jesuits towards the smaller but independent states and corporations of Europe was altogether guided by the same principles. Their controversy with the University of Louvain may be considered in some respects as an epitome of their general history. Many restrictions were imposed on them when at length permitted to establish a college, in 1560. "Il falut, dit leur historien, que leur amis les priaissent d'accepter cet établissement, alléguant qu'ils seroient maitres par la suite d'observer ou d'enfreindre ces conditions." Benard, ii. 9.

At Venice they seem at first to have met with but little opposition. Their intriguing spirit, however, was not likely to harmonize for any long period with the jealousy of a suspicious government. In the year 1560, the Venetian senators deliberated on their expulsion. This blow was for the time suspended; but the wives of senators, by some of whom it was suspected that secrets of state had been revealed, were forbidden for the future to apply to Jesuit confessors. Benard, ii. 4. In 1606, on the dispute between the Venetians and Paul V. (a question between the rights of sovereigns and the privileges of ecclesiastics, in which the cause of the republic was defended by the illustrious Father Paul,) the interests of the Pope were naturally espoused by the Jesuits. In consequence of their conduct on this occasion, they were banished from the states of Venice. (Thuani Hist. lib. 137.) Their banishment continued for the space of fifty years,
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and the manner in which they obtained a revocation of the sentence deserves to be related. The following account of it is given by the Abbé Racine in the *Abrégé de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique*.

“ Alexander VII. at the commencement of the year 1657, gave a signal proof of his attachment to the Jesuits. These fathers had been banished for ever from the state of Venice, and the King of France had solicited fruitlessly on their behalf. The Pope charged his nuncio to intercede with the Senate for their re-establishment, and to act on this occasion in concert with the French ambassador, who was urgently to demand the same favour in the name of his most Christian Majesty. The votes of the Senate were equally divided when the question was brought under discussion. The one party was for adhering to the solemn decree, by which the Jesuits had been expelled; the other thought it politic to relax that severe injunction, in a case where the important end might be answered of obliging the Pope and the King of France.

“ But for the particular circumstances, however, in which Venice was then situated, the Jesuits, notwithstanding their great credit in most of the courts of Europe, would never have obtained restoration. Happily for them, the republic was engaged in the war of Candia. It had need of the Pope's pecuniary assistance, and of his permission to impose certain taxes on the Clergy. The Chigis (the Pope's nephews) were still more in want of money, to build their palaces, and establish their fortunes. In these reciprocal necessities, the Jesuits made an offer to his Holiness of a considerable sum of money. They suggested

gested to him, that it would be extremely acceptable either to his own family, or to the Venetians; that their society demanded nothing from him in return, but that he should endeavour to prevail on the republic to rescind the decree of banishment, which it had pronounced against them, and to receive them again into its bosom; that, in common with the other religious orders, they might there offer up prayers to God for the prosperity of the state, and a successful close to that disastrous war with which it was afflicted.

“The Pope could not resist a request so adroitly expressed, and so powerfully supported. The Venetians, seeing that he demanded with so much urgency the recal of the Jesuits, and that all the assistance to be expected from him depended on this condition, at length consented to it; and each party obtained its object; Venice, the assistance of which it was in need; the Jesuits, their restoration to the territory of the republic; and the Pope, a sum which would appear incredible, if we did not know, that those from whom it proceeded had the means of making such a donation, even without much inconvenience.” *Hist. Gen. des Jesuites*, i. 307.

On this re-establishment, the Jesuits were subjected to humiliating conditions; which, probably, were very inaccurately observed, but which marked the general distrust entertained of them by the Venetians.

XX.

Xavier, on his arrival at Goa, found it a very general practice among the Portuguese, to indulge in
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concubinage with Asiatic women. His biographer expatiates with much approbation on the delicacy of his finesse in contriving to put a stop to this irregularity.

“ Ergo Xaverius tanto huic malo obviam eundum ratus, suum ope expedire illorum animos cœpit. Primum igitur eos omni obsequio demereri. Inde, ut quisque obvius erat, hilari vultu eum rogare, ut sacerdotem cibi egentem convivio acciperet familiari. Annuente illo, mensæ pariter accumbebat. Super cœnam vel a cœna orabat hospitem, suos ut liberos accersî juberet. Mox patris jussu prodibant parvi filii, quos Franciscus manibus sublato collo suo admovebat, grates Deo agens, qui tales ei pueros spem stirpis dedisset: et simul honestam eis sanctamque vitam exposcebat precibus. Subinde (temeritas in alio foret, quod illius sanctitas facile sustinebat) puorum matrem acciri desiderabat; accitam benigne alloqui, hospiti ejus commendare formam, nuptiis viam muniens. Eam utique egregia esse indole ac specie, ut Lusitana posset videri: liberos ex ea genitos haud dubie Lusitano homine dignos. Quæ res igitur connubium moraretur? Quam conjugem ex peteret illa meliorem? Proinde ne cunctaretur filiorum famæ, talis fœminæ pudori consulere. Nec salubria dicta in irritum cadebant. Francisci vox et auctoritas haud ægre eos impellebat ad pellices sibi matrimonio jungendas, ipsomet inspectante. Quod si quem nactus esset, qui ex Inda muliere ac deformi filios matri similes haberet, indignabundus exclamabat: Deus bone, quid hoc est monstri? Diabolum domialis? cum isto portento consuetudinem habes? hinc suscipere liberos potes? me audi—istud monstrum ac pro-

prodigium extemplo tectis ejice ; et te dignam conjugem quære : ita ille, amandata pellice, ducebat uxorem. Nec finebat Franciscus, quantum in ipso erat, nigras ancillas a Lusitanis in matrimonium duci, sed albas, minimeque deformes ; ut scilicet adulteriis abstinerent, sua quisque uxore contenti." Turf. vit. Xav. ii. 3.

Other enterprizes of this illustrious missionary were directed not less immediately to promote the temporal power of Portugal, than the ecclesiastical sovereignty of Rome. See Benard, i. 89. 112. and the History of the Rise and Fall of the Portuguese Empire in the East, prefixed to Mickle's translation of the Lusiad, p. cxix. 4to. 1778.

XXI.

I have been somewhat at a loss in what manner to translate the terms *cartouches*, *cartons*, *tableaux*, and *tablettes*, which, for want of a particular description, I have rendered by the very indefinite word *tablet*. Since they probably resembled in form the ornaments which sometimes have been substituted in their place, a notion of them may, perhaps, be derived from the following passage in the Suite des Lettres Edifiantes, which describes the latter. " Chaque famille tient affiché, dans le lieu le plus apparent de la salle où elle reçoit les hôtes, une grande feuille de papier coloré, sur laquelle est écrit en gros caractères : ' Esprit, vrai maître, Créateur du ciel, de la terre, des hommes, et de toutes choses.' Cette tablette est dans la province le signe consacré de la religion Chrétienne. Aux côtés de la tablette, et aux murailles collatérales de la salle, on voit sur de longues feuilles de papier coloré

coloré des sentences correspondantes de la religion, on voit aussi souvent la croix tracée sur les portes mêmes. Ceci tient lieu d'un ornement usité dans le pays, qui, chez les païens, est presque tout idolâtre et superstitieux." Letter of M. Dufresse, from China, dated in 1793.

The decidedly religious nature of these ceremonies may be collected, also, from a letter of the same missionary, p. 242. "Quelques païens s'autorisant de l'édit, et se prévalant de la faiblesse d'une famille, où il n'y avoit que deux femmes et de petits enfans, avoient arraché la tablette Chrétienne, et affiché la païenne." p. 208. In Tonquin, a country, the manners of which seem to have been very similar to those of China, the natives were perfectly aware of the difference between adoring the heaven and the Lord of heaven. "(Les Chrétiens) doivent se corriger, reprit le secrétaire (payen), du culte qu'ils rendent au seigneur du ciel, et suivre la coutume de Tonquin en adorant le ciel même." Histoire de l'Etablissement du Christianisme dans les Indes Orientales, 2 vol. 12mo. Paris. 1803. vol. ii. p. 76.

XXII.

I. *Letter to the Pope.*

"Most Holy Father,

"Your Holiness is not ignorant how the Jesuits have laboured to obtain free entrance for preaching of the Gospel in the empire of China, where all the gates were shut against foreigners, and how that, after one hundred years spent in pains and trouble, they at length obtained permission, by the Emperor's edict,

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publicly to preach the law of God through the extent of that vast empire. The more this work, which has cost us so much care and fatigue, is for the glory of God, the more are we pierced with grief and sorrow that we are in danger of seeing utterly lost what has so many years been establishing.

“ For it is evident, that if the Chinese Christians are forbid the use of the ceremonies, which are practised in reference to Confucius and their deceased parents, the Christian religion runs the hazard, upon the first accusation, of being banished out of the empire of China. Whatever goodness the Emperor shows us, we cannot expect that he should expose himself, for our sakes, to those inconveniencies and all those troubles, which would infallibly happen upon the least innovations upon the customs of the empire; more especially, being himself a foreigner, and only maintained in his possession by the Tartars.

“ Considering, therefore, that these ceremonies may be looked upon differently by those that examine them, and that, according to the sense and meaning wherein they are taken by some, we are accused of openly tolerating idolatry, because we permit what our predecessors thought it became them to tolerate as ceremonies merely political, after they had pared off what some idolaters had intermixed of superstitions: seeing also that every body quoted, in favour of his own opinion, several texts taken out of the Chinese books, we deemed it our best way to consult the Emperor, as being well versed in the Chinese language, chief of the sect of the learned, the only judge of the sense of the laws, ceremonies, and customs, as legislator of the empire.

“ To which purpose, by the favour of two mandarins, we presented to his imperial Majesty our explanation of the Chinese ceremonies, which we sent to your Holiness: which after the Emperor had read, he found very just, and declared, that it contained the true sentiments of the empire, and his own: which he confirmed by a decree, which is hereto annexed.

“ We take the liberty, most holy Father, to present to you this decree, and, prostrate at your Holiness's feet, implore you graciously to receive it. It is a clear declaration upon the matter in question, and the authentic testimony of a great prince, who has been all along affectionately kind to all the missionaries. We shall also send to your Holiness several other testimonies, upon the same subject, of the greatest lords of the court and the empire; in hopes your Holiness will give more credit to these testimonies, than to theirs who are of an opinion contrary to ours: persons without credit, without capacity, and who have asserted several things upon bare conjectures. And your Holiness may see by this decree of the Emperor, that what they have said touching the sentiments of this great prince is no way conformable to truth.

“ So that if customs so ancient and so authorized in the empire, the preservation of which the Chinese look upon as one of the most important blessings of the government, and as one of the principal supports of the monarchy, should be overturned, we may presume to tell your Holiness, that the course of the Gospel would be in great danger of being stopped, and that the Church of China would in as little time be

be utterly overturned. We could wish it were in our power to abolish all the customs and ceremonies of the Gentiles, where there is the least appearance of evil or superstition : but being afraid of shutting the gates against the Gospel, and excluding out of heaven a great number of souls by an over-rigorous severity, we rather chose to imitate the conduct of the holy Fathers in the primitive ages of the Church, and to tolerate such ceremonies, as are purely political and civil.

“ And now, as we have taken the liberty to represent these things to your Holiness, we beseech you to be fully convinced of our filial obedience and submission to him on whom we look as the visible head and common Father of the universal Church, &c.

Your Holiness's most humble and most obedient
servants and sons in Jesus Christ,

(Signed)

PHILIP GRIMALDI,

Rector of the College, and Substitute of the Vice-Provincial,

ANTHONY THOMAS,

Superior of the Oriental Houses.”

II. Explanation of the Chinese ceremonies, mentioned in the preceding letter, and presented to the Emperor Kamhi, Nov. 30, 1700.

“ When the Chinese honour Confucius, they do it to show their respect to him, by reason of the doctrine which he has left among them. Having embraced this doctrine from him, how can they better pay those honours that are due to him, than by fall-

ing upon their knees, and touching the ground with their heads? This is the true reason of those honours, because the whole empire of China looks upon and reveres Confucius as their master.

“As for what concerns the libations and other ceremonies paid to their deceased parents, they practise them as a mark of their love and respect to them, and out of that acknowledgement which is due to them, as being the heads of their race and family: nor did they propose any other end in settling those ceremonies, than to show the full extent of their affection for their kindred and relations.

“As for the little pictures which they set up in honour of their ancestors and kindred, we say that the Chinese do it, not that they believe the soul of the dead resides there, or that they come there to demand any kindness; but they set meat and presents before the said little pictures, to the end that by showing their love and respect to them, as if they were alive and present, they may make appear their constant and continued sorrow for the loss of the heads of their families.

“As for the sacrifices which the ancient kings and emperors were wont to offer to heaven, they are such as the Chinese philosophers call Kiao Che, the sacrifices which are made to heaven and earth, by which they say that Cham Ti, or the sovereign lord, is honoured. And for this reason it is, that the little pictures before which they offer those sacrifices bear this inscription; To the Cham Ti, that is to say, to the Sovereign Lord.

“From whence it is evident, that they do not offer sacrifices to the visible and material heaven, but only
to

to the Lord and Creator of heaven and earth. And because that out of fear and respect for him they dare not call him by his proper name, they invoke him under the appellations of the Supreme Heaven, the Bountiful Heaven, the Universal Heaven."

III. *The Emperor's approbation.*

"That which is contained in this writing is very right, and very conformable to the grand doctrine: to pay our devoirs to heaven, to our lords, to our parents, to our masters, and our ancestors, is a law common over all the world. The things that are contained in this writing are very true, and there is nothing to amend."

XXIII.

See the voyage of F. Alexander de Rhodes, quoted IV. *Lettre sur les cérémonies de la Chine*, p. 4. Another Jesuit is cited to the same purport, p. 6. Longobardi, Provincial of the Jesuits in China, assembled a council in 1628, in which the use of the ceremonies was explicitly condemned. His successor, Hurtado, held that they were permissible, and, "pour faire cesser entièrement les scrupules," committed to the flames the book which had been written on this question by Longobardi. "J'avoue," observes Father Cicé, "qu'il ne fait pas cesser les miens." Dom Inigo, i. 321, 322. Cicé, *Lettre aux Jésuites*, p. 27. 29. "I am convinced," says Father du Paz, (a Dominican writer in the interest of the Jesuits, quoted by Gobien, p. 270.) "that these Pagans do not believe in the divine power of their deceased ancestors, or of Confucius; or, at least, that it is not their common opinion." It was then, confessedly, the opinion of some,

some, and therefore ought not to have been tolerated. We know also, that the superstitions of China, and of the adjoining countries, both are, and long have been, similar. (*Nouvelles des Missions Orient.* Lond. 1797. p. 196.) In the kingdom of Tonquin, the worship of Confucius is prevalent at this day : (*ibid.* p. 79.) and the recent missionaries to that country seem to have no doubt, but that the honours and sacrifices offered by the natives to him, and also to their dead ancestors, are altogether idolatrous. *Ibid.* 55. 84.

The following extract, which, I believe, gives a faithful account of the Chinese religion, is taken from the notes to the *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, &c. traduite par le feu Pere Jos. A. M. de M. de Mailla, Jésuite. Revue par M. le Roux des Hauterayes, Paris, 4to. 1780.

“ In short, it appears to me, that the Chinese, unless their ancient religion was different from their present, have never recognized any substance distinct from matter : and consequently, that the names of *Tien* and *Chang Ti*, with those of *Li* and *Tai-kié*, whatever attributes may be annexed to them, are essentially different from that of the true God. The worship which is rendered by the Chinese to Confucius, and their ancestors, though it may have been purely civil in its commencement, is yet no more exempt from the imputation of idolatry, than the worship anciently paid to the Roman emperors. That multitude, also, of subaltern spirits, to which the Chinese sacrifice, and which they suppose to preside over the air, the earth, forests, mountains, rivers, &c. has its counterpart in the similar crowd of local deities,

ties, with which the Greeks and Romans had peopled all creation. It is remarkable, that the pontificate during life, and the honours of an apotheosis after death, were common to the Emperors of China with the Cæsars." Note, p. 303. vol. xi.

XXIV.

The reigning Emperor of China has sanctioned the enactments of his predecessor for the prohibition of Christianity. (*Hist. Gen. de la Chine*, vol. xi. p. 524, &c.) The religion, nevertheless, is far from being extirpated in that empire. It seems from an edict mentioned *ibid.* p. 527. that some of the Chinese Christians have persisted with great resolution in the profession of their faith. See pp. 530—536. Ever since the persecution under Yong-tching, compliance with the suspected ceremonies has been forbidden to converts; and it is said, that their superior constancy has made ample amends for their diminished number. p. 537. The personal merit and disinterestedness of the Jesuits, and other missionaries now in China, is not to be contested; (*Staunton's Embassy*, vol. ii. p. 338. 8vo.) and it is evident, that they have shared in that tacit reformation, which has taken place even in the Roman Catholic religion. (Compare the *Nouvelles des Missions Etrangères*, published at London in 1797, as a Supplement to the *Lettres Edifiantes*, with the earlier volumes of that series.)

XXV.

There are at present three different sects of Christians in Malabar.

I. The

I. The St. Thomé or Jacobite Christians, who preserve entirely the ancient discipline, and faith.

II. The Syrian Roman Catholics, whose Liturgy is the same with the Roman, except that it is translated into the language of the country.

III. The Latin Roman Catholics, who, as their name imports, adopt the Romish system in language, as well as in rites and doctrines.

The interesting anecdote is related by Mr. Kerr, that "in some of the churches divine service is performed in the Syro-Chaldaic and Latin ritual alternately, by the Papal clergy, and by the priests of the Christians of St. Thomé. When the first have celebrated mass, they carry away the images from the church before the others enter." Report to Lord W. Bentinck. I subjoin some extracts from an Account of the St. Thomé Christians, by F. Wredè, Esq. (Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. art. 13. p. 364. 4to. Calcutta ed.)

"They (the St. Thomé Christians) at first made some proselytes amongst the Bramins and Nairs, and were on that account much respected by the native princes; so that even at present they consider themselves equal in rank to either of the above two casts. They are, in fact, in much greater estimation amongst the Hindoos, than the new Christians converted by the Portuguese, and mostly picked up from the lowest cast. I have been assured by Padre Pavorey, a well informed Ex-Jesuit now at Palghautcherry, who was a long time as missionary among the St. Thomé Christians, that many of them preserve till now the manners and mode of life of the Bramins, as to clean-

cleanliness and abstaining from animal food ; and that even he himself had been obliged to adopt the same regimen, in order to gain credit among them." pp. 368, 369.

" This reunion of the St. Thomé Christians to the See of Rome (by Menezes) was, however, neither general, nor sincere and lasting ; for a short time after, some Maronites, or Nestorian priests, found their way to the mountains of Travancore, where they revived the old doctrines and rites, and ever since kept up their communication with the Jacobites, Maronites, and Nestorians of Syria. At present there are thirty-two churches^t of this description remaining, which are called Schismatic Syrians by the Portuguese and Roman clergy. They have a Bishop, or Mar Thomé, who resides at Naruatto, about ten miles in land from Porca, and was consecrated by some Jacobite Bishops, sent from Antiochia for that purpose in the year 1752. He adheres more to the doctrine of Eutyches than of Nestorius. About eighty-four of the old St. Thomé Churches remain united to the Roman Catholic religion, and are governed by the Archbishop of Cranganore, or, as he used to stile himself, the Archbishop of the Malabar Christians of the mountains. . . . These united St. Thomé Christians retain only the peculiarity of the Chaldean language being still used in their churches, for which they are furnished with the ne-

^t The number of churches is stated by Mr. Kerr at fifty-five. The population, as returned to the resident, is estimated at twenty-three thousand, but supposed in reality to be seventy or eighty thousand.

cessary

cessary books from the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide." pp. 375, 376".

"Almost all temples belonging to the St. Thomé Christians in the Southern Malabar, of which I had occasion to observe more than forty, were built in the same style, and nearly upon the same plan. The façade with little columns, (evidently in imitation of the style of architecture prevalent in Asia Minor and Syria; from whence the Christian religion, and with it the model of their temples, appears to have been transplanted into Malabar,) being every where the same; only that those belonging to the Old Nestorians, or Schismatics, have preserved their ancient simplicity, and that the fronts of such as adopted afterwards the Latin rite, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman See, are decorated with saints in niches or basso relievos, and that some of the most conspicuous had an arched choir." pp. 379, 380.

An account of the Malabar Christians may be found also in Pennant's Hindostan, i. 163, &c.

XXVI.

Among these forgeries, that of Jerom Xavier seems to be the most remarkable. It has been published with a Latin translation and notes by De Dieu, under the following title: "*Historia Christi Perfice conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata, a P. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu. Latine reddita et anim-*

"The congregations of the Syrian Roman Catholics are reported by Mr. Kerr to consist of ninety thousand persons. One only of the three dioceses of Latin Roman Catholics (that of Verapoli) is said to contain thirty-five thousand communicants.

adversionibus

adversus notata a Ludovico de Dieu. Lugd. Bat.
1639. 4to."

The author had been prefect of the Portuguese Jesuit College at Goa, and professes to have composed this work in 1602^x, at the command of Aca-bar, Emperor of the Moguls at Agra. It seems to have been originally written in Portuguese, and translated into Persian by Xavier's instructor in that language^y.

This history begins with stating, that Abgarus, King of Edeffa, being very desirous of seeing our Saviour, sent to him an invitation into Macedonia. The messenger who carried the invitation was directed, if Christ should be unable to undertake the journey, at least to bring back his picture. This attempt to take the portrait of Christ is accompanied, as might be expected, with miracle, (pp. 5, 6.) but not with the same that is said to have given rise to the story of St. Veronica. We are told in page 9, that Xavier's reason for beginning his history in this manner is to comply with the request of the Mogul Emperor, "*ut quicquid de dictis et factis istius Domini in libris nostris haberemus, in linguam Persicam transferremus.*"

The account of the parentage of the Virgin Mary seems to have been extracted from the Roman Breviary^z. Her history then follows at length, and in some respects may apparently be traced to the Apocryphal Gospels. In page 21. is given an account of the decrees of Innocent IV. and Celestine IV. re-

^x P. 13.

^y De Dieu, Preface.

^z Idem, Animadv. p. 537.

specting

specting the honours with which she ought to be worshipped. "Quod sequitur," says De Dieu, "verissimum est. Salutavit Virgo Elizabetham tantum verborum efficacia, ut et Elizabetha obstupesceret, et foetus in utero subfiliret. Sed audi quid Mariæ ὑπερδulos inde colligat. Pag. 49. Hinc liquet, inquit, quam potens fit benedicta Virgo in beneficiis præstandis, et quantam gratiam Deus iis refervet, quos illa invisit, quibusque bene precatur, et quos in protectionem suam per intercessionem capit: hinc tantam Christiani spem in intercessione ejus habent, summoque studio id agunt ut devotis intensisque precibus eam protectricem suam habeant." De Dieu, *Animadv.* pp. 561, 562.

Other reasoning of the same description is animalverted on p. 624.

In the account of the nativity, the history given by the canonical evangelists is usually adhered to. Then follow some very particular illustrations and details of the immaculate conception. p. 69. et sq.

A relation is given, p. 73, of an interview between Augustus and a Sibyl on the day of the nativity. The Sibyl sees and points out to the Emperor a golden circle round the sun, and in the midst of it a beautiful virgin with an infant in her arms ^a.

We have the following details respecting the wise men of the East. "Nomina eorum hæc sunt: Melchior, Caspar, et Balthazar. Postquam autem Majestas Jesu Domini nostri in cœlos ascendisset, et apostoli ejus in omnia latera mundi venissent, ex duode-

^a For the probable origin of this fable, see De Dieu's *Animadv.*

cum apostolis Thomas in terram ipsorum venit, et Evangelium Christi prædicavit, omnesque illos tres baptizavit, id est aqua sancta abluit, quemadmodum in Evangelio præceptum est. Quumque multi in ea regione ad fidem Dom. Jesu venissent et Christiani facti essent, omnes hos tres episcopos fecit, id est, principes in negotio religionis: ipsi enim regnis suis renunciantes, in paupertatem venerunt, ut in statu paupertatis melius servirent Regi regum quem in tanta paupertate viderant, quam propter homines et institutionem eorum elegerat. Post mortem corpora eorum Constantinopolim deportata fuerunt, inde in urbem Mediolanum, inde in urbem Coloniam, et ad hoc usque tempus ibi sunt, hominesque sepulchris ipsorum honorem custodiæ faciunt." pp. 89, 90.

Melchior, Caspar, et Balthasar!!! "Baronius ac Barradius, quibus alias fabulæ satis sæpe allubescunt, hæc nugas ne recensere quidem sunt dignati." De Dieu, 581.

The Historia Petri, edited in the same year, and at the same place, and usually subjoined to the Historia Christi, is undoubtedly by the same author. Animadv. in Hist. Petri, p. 108.

The following extract is from De Dieu's Commonefactio ad Lectores, p. 2. "Quod monui de Historia Christi idem nunc moneo de hac historia S. Petri: nempe authori ejus non suffecisse ex Actis SS. Apostolorum adferre quod de S. Petro ibi scriptum fuit, sed varia allegasse, quæ veritati non consentiunt, et ex scriptoribus indignis fide desumpta fuerunt. Scopus ejus fuit ostendere S. Petro supra omnes Apostolos principatum obtigisse, et in urbe Roma vicarium Christi egisse." Some notices on this subject may
be

be found in Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*, p. 564, 565. ed. Hamburgi 1731. et Cod. Apoc. Novi Testamenti, p. 828. ed. Hamburg. 1703.

“Agreeable to which I have heard other of their Catholikes deliver, that it hath beene heretofore very seriously consulted among them, to have censured by some meanes and reformed the writings of St. Paul.” Sir Ed. Sandys’s *Europæ Speculum*, p. 116. London, 1635. See the context, and Law’s *Considerations on the Theory of Religion*, p. 263. note *: but it seems doubtful whether the learned bishop be altogether warranted in supposing the Jesuits to be alluded to in this declaration, though their name is mentioned in a preceding sentence.

XXVII.

It is observable, that as, on the one hand, the Romish missionaries to India have compromised, from motives of indirect policy, the most essential doctrines of Christianity; so, on the other, they have often exposed its progress to unnecessary difficulties, by adhering strictly to the indifferent or superstitious practices of their church. (Norbert, i. 118.) Sometimes they have sacrificed truth to policy, and sometimes policy itself to error. During the many persecutions which Christianity underwent in Tonquin, a diligent search was often instituted for books or symbols of the religion, and their possession was severely punished. Much labour and ingenuity was therefore necessary to conceal them, and it might, consequently, have been expected, that the missionaries would have studied to render their ceremonial as little cumbersome as possible. They seem, on the contrary, to have

have thought it indispensable to preserve, not the books only of their religion, but also the altars, and the peculiar vessels used for ministering at the altar, the pictures, crucifixes, and other ornaments, which were connected with the Romish ritual. (*Histoire de l'Etablissement du Christianisme des Indes*, i. 253, 257, 258. ii. 30, &c. &c.) This, perhaps, was a venial mistake. The doctrine of the eternal damnation of all persons who are not Christians must have been productive of more serious mischief. The filial reverence, which is characteristic of the natives of the East, must, as Loubere has well observed, oppose powerfully their belief of any religion, which teaches that their parents are included in so dreadful an anathema. (*Siam*, i. 428.) It is to be remarked, also, that the Indian convert has usually been regarded with contempt by the missionaries, in the same manner as the Moorish proselyte by the old Christians of Spain; and that immediately on conversion he became subject to the power of the Inquisition. In such circumstances, it cannot be expected that many persons should relinquish the faith of their ancestors for a religion, in which the sacrifice of all their natural connections and private comfort was not in any degree repaid, even with that consideration and respect among their new brethren, which might equitably have been hoped for. (See *La Croze*, pp. 524, 525.)

We must allow, that, of late years, both the zeal of the Roman Catholic missionaries in India has been entirely disinterested, and their conduct comparatively unexceptionable. It appears from the *Nouvelles des Missions Orientales*, that they have been

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long

long attempting to form a national clergy in Tonquin. (p. 132.) They now put the Scriptures into the hands of their converts, (*ibid.* p. 11.) which was not formerly the case (Millar, ii. 263.); and it is certain, that they are guilty of no compliance with the Chinese idolatries of the heaven, and of Confucius. (See Appendix XXIV.) Their judgment, however, is still very far from being correct. Many instances of their credulity are to be found in the work above cited. (pp. 150—152. 224. &c.) They profess to have afforded an asylum to women, whose religious zeal had induced them to quit their husbands or relations (p. 96.): and boast of having expelled the priests of idolatry by force, and of having burned or destroyed their temples. (p. 15.)

XXVIII.

The efforts made by the Portuguese to establish the supremacy of Rome among the Christians of Abyssinia, may be compared with their proceedings in Malabar. Were such a comparison to be pursued minutely, it might be applied to illustrate in a striking manner that modified similarity of results, which is produced by the same principles in different countries and varied circumstances. The Abyssinian as well as the Malabrian Christians possessed a creed far less exceptionable than that of Papal Rome. They rejected transubstantiation, and adoration of the consecrated bread; they permitted their priests to marry; and held the Scriptures to be the perfect rule of faith^b.

^b Ludolf. *Hist. Æth.* l. iii. cap. 7. fol. Francof. 1681. Millar, *Prop. of Christianity*, ii. 189. Geddes, *Ch. Hist. of Ethiopia*, p. 31. Ber-

Bermudez, a Spanish Ecclesiastic, went into Abyssinia in the year 1520. He was in 1525 appointed patriarch of that country by the Emperor Onandin-guel, whom some writers name David, and who, it is probable, was willing to admit the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome, because it was the means of procuring military aid from Portugal^c. Bermudez, on his promotion, undertook a journey to Rome, that he might perform homage to the Pope; and, returning by way of Lisbon and Goa, conducted an intrepid body of Portuguese adventurers into Abyssinia^d. The Emperor, however, was dead, and his son and successor unwilling to acknowledge either the Pope or a Popish patriarch. The zeal of the Papist is, indeed, much more remarkable than that of the Christian, in the whole policy of Bermudez. "A great nation," says he to the Portuguese, "cannot be cleansed of all the cockle and tares which the devill soweth in it: even as a field cannot be weeded of all the weeds and thornes that grow in it: for if we seeke to weed them cleane, we shall also pull up the wheate among the weeds, as Christ saith in the Gospel. It is enough to do now the principall, which

^c The Emperors of Japan, though, probably, not at all desirous of being visited by the armies of Europe, were not more disinterested in their encouragement of Christianity. "Comme ces nouveaux apôtres ne marchaient plus qu'à la suite de quelque flotte Portugaise, les rois de ce païs voulant faire fleurir le commerce dans leurs états, et y attirer les Européens, se faisoient bâtifier à l'envie les uns des autres," &c. Benard, ii. p. 61.

^d Bermudez, chap. i. Engl. Tr. Purchas, Pilgrimes, 2d part, ed. Lond. 1625. Book VII. chap. vii. p. 1149, &c. Le Grand, Dissertations, Diss. ix. p. 315. Engl. Tr. 8vo. 1735.

is the obedience and uniting of the holy mother church: this is the fountaine of all the rest, from hence depend all the other circumstances." Purchas, chap. iii. pp. 1157, 1158.

"I said unto him againe," relates our author, at the close of an ineffectual conference with the young monarch, "that he lyed, for as much as I was no Arrian, neither had foure gods: but seeing he would not obey the holy father, that I held him for excommunicate and accursed, and that I would stay no longer, nor speake with him; and with this I rose to goe away: and hee answered me, that I was the excommunicate, and not hee.

"From thence, without any more speaking to him, I went to the Portugals, which stood without the tent, and told them what passed, and how the king would not obey the Romane Church, but that hee was an hereticke, like Nestorius and Dioscorus: therefore I commanded them, in vertue of obedience, and under paine of excommunication of my part, and in behalfe of the King of Portugall, (whose authoritie I had for it,) under paine of capitall crime, in no wise they should obey that king, nor follow him, nor doe any thing in his favour. Alphonfus Caldeyra and all the rest said, that their fathers and grandfathers were never rebels to the Church of Rome nor to their king, neither would they be: therefore that I had no need to lay an excommunication upon them, but that I should suspend it; for they without it would do all that I should command, as obedient children." Ibid. 1158.

A similar occurrence is related in chap. iv. "There is nothing to be done in these missions," says the Jesuit

suit Tellez, "without the aid of the military^e;" and, in truth, it is apparent that the soldiers and the missionaries of Portugal advanced in their respective progresses throughout Abyssinia with nearly equal steps, and reciprocal assistance. Bermudez, addressing Sebastian, King of Portugal, declares, "For your highness may believe, that the matters of that empire were in such estate, that if that small number of Portugals had been maintained with supplies of men, it might have gotten such a possession and authority, that King Gradeus, either with his will or without it, would have obeyed the holy mother church^f."

After thirty years of laborious exertion, Bermudez returned to Portugal; but not till a mission to Abyssinia had been undertaken under the auspices of the Jesuits. Nugnez Baretto had been consecrated Patriarch of Ethiopia by Pope Julius III. and commenced his voyage to that country, carrying with him, together with his credentials from the Holy See, a letter from Ignatius Loyola to the Emperor Claudius, or Gradeus^g. He arrived prosperously at

^e Cited, La Croze, *Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, 8vo. 1739. p. 282. Xavier had made a similar declaration in India. *Christianisme des Indes*, p. 529.

^f Purchas, *ibid.* 1172. So also Father Couplet, (cited, La Croze, *Christianisme des Indes*, p. 530. note b.) "Quanta etiam Romanæ Ecclesiæ ac sanctæ Congregationi de Propaganda Fide, usque ad extremum terræ accedet gloria, præ aliis omnibus Asiæ missionibus, si aliquando, uti certe sperandum est, adeo brevi dilatetur per plurimos indigenas sacerdotes religio Christiana, ut ipsa etiam imperatoribus Sinicis et principibus Ethnicis formidabilis sit futura credentium multitudo."

^g La Croze, *Ethiopie*, p. 271. The letter is given at length by Bouhours, in the *Vie de St. Ignace*, p. 504.

Goa, from which place, that the apostolical dignity with which he was invested might not be exposed to any unbecoming reception, he sent three missionaries before him into Abyssinia, to observe the situation of affairs ^b. The zeal of these sanguine Jesuits was very indiscreet, and the chief import of their conferences with the Abyssinians was the assertion of the Pope's supremacy. "*Diversa colloquia habita fuerunt, quorum summa ex parte Gonçali plerumque eo recidebant. Pontificem Romanum in terra Christi vicarium, omnium Christianorum caput esse: si Habessiniani salutem assequi vellent, iterum cum suo legitimo capite conjungerent, ipsum enim Christum voce sua asseruisse unum tantum in Ecclesia esse ovile, et unum tantum pastorem* ⁱ."

This doctrine does not seem to have been very palatable, and Baretto died at Goa in 1562, before it was thought prudent that he should embark for Afri-

^b Benard, i. 187, 188.

ⁱ Ludolf. l. iii. c. 9. The memorable discourse of Valverde to Arabalipa seems to have assumed a still greater degree of arrogance. This Spaniard declared, that Jesus, after his crucifixion, "*monta au ciel, laissant St. Pierre à sa place pour être son Vicaire, et après lui ses successeurs qui demeurent à Rome, et que les Chrétiens appellent Papes. Il ajouta que c'étoient ces successeurs de St. Pierre qui avoient partagé tous les païs du monde aux rois et aux princes Chrétiens, donnans à chacun la charge d'en conquérir quelque portion: que ce païs du Perou étoient échu à sa Majesté Impériale le Roi Dom Carlos, et que ce grand Monarque avoit envoyé en sa place le Gouverneur Dom François Pizarre, pour lui faire savoir de la part de Dieu et de la sienne tout ce qu'il venoit de lui dire.*" Zarate, Histoire de la Découverte et de la Conquête du Perou, Trad. Fr. Amst. 1700. vol. i. pp. 93, 94. See Robertson's Hist. of America, Vol. I. note xxiii. 4to. and Herrera, l. vii. 14. cited there, and Vol. II. note xxiv.

ca. Oviedo, his *coadjuteur*, who had already arrived in Abyssinia, was now appointed patriarch, and resorted to the most vigorous measures for the purpose of restoring the Romish interest, which he had found reduced to a very low state. He issued a sentence of general excommunication^k, and caballed with a native prince against the Emperor's authority^l. But all these efforts proved unavailing; and Oviedo, unable, or, possibly, unwilling to leave a country, in which he still may have seen many opportunities for intrigue, died at length in great misery. His death was soon succeeded by that of the other Jesuits who had accompanied him, and thus, in the year 1597, the mission to Abyssinia became extinct^m.

In the beginning of the 17th century, the Jesuits renewed their intercourse with this country, and revived, with temporary success, the arrogant pretensions of the Romish priesthood. The Sultan Socinios in 1626 took an oath of obedience to the Pope, and the victory thus obtained over the patriarchate of Alexandria was celebrated by the successful party with proclamations of triumph, and massacres of its opponentsⁿ. But its triumph was of short duration. Socinios himself was compelled to issue an edict allowing liberty of belief, and the Romish party began gradually to decline, till at length it was finally extinguished^o. The very idea of submission to the Pope

^k La Croze, Eth. 276.

^l Ibid. 279.

^m Ibid. 285.

ⁿ Ibid. 300—303. Bruce, vol. ii. p. 351—355. 4to.

^o La Croze, 315, 320, Bruce, 396.

is now rejected by the Abyffinians^p, and even the name of Bermudez, whose appointment as the successor of Abuna Marcos, though apparently regular^q, seems to be considered as vitiated by his conformity to Rome, is passed over without notice in their list of patriarchs.

“ In Diptycho Æthiopico sequentes recensentur Patriarchæ.

Abbuna Abba Matthæus.

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nulla ratione habita Johannis Bermudis, quem Papa Romanus Patriarcham Alexandriae et Æthiopiæ simul creatum in Habessiniam miserat^r.

XXIX.

A slight exception is recorded in the *Histoire du Paraguay sous les Jésuites*, with this reason assigned for it by the Provincial of the order; “parceque ce sont des choses sur lesquelles on ne gene pas même les esclaves.” *Ordonnances et Lettres des PP. Généraux et Provinciaux*, cited vol. i. pp. 113, 114. I have in vain endeavoured to discover what work it is, and of what authority, which under this title is very commonly referred to by Echavarri, with paginal references to distinct volumes. Some of the passages cited from it have the internal marks of authenticity, but others are of a very doubtful appearance; the following for example. “Dans une assemblée tenue

^p Bruce, book v. chap. 12.

^q Bermudez, chap. i.

^r Ludolf. iii. 7.

à cet effet, il a été ordonné, quant aux troupes chargées d'enlever les bestiaux des Vacheries Espagnoles sur la côte de Rio de la Plata, qu'il y soit envoyé au moins six cents hommes avec un nombre de chevaux convenable ; que tous soient armés et qu'ils aient à leur tête un Pere intelligent et sage qui les commande ; et il fera à propos qu'ils aient avec eux quelques Guanoas Chrétiens qui parlent aux infidèles de leur nation, et leur disent que les Espagnols et les Portugais sont dans le dessein de détruire toutes les Vacheries ; et que, ces Vacheries une fois détruites, ils n'auront plus de viande de bœuf à manger à l'avenir ; que c'est là une vérité constante, et qu'ils se donnent bien de garde de se ranger du côté des Espagnols et des Portugais, ou de leur prêter l'oreille, attendu que ceux-ci ne cherchent qu'à les tromper par leurs prétextes d'armes, d'épées, d'habits, et de rubans." Echarri, pp. 131, 132. See also p. 308.

XXX.

“ Cependant les Indiens vont avec leurs barques à Buenos Ayres : ils transportent les marchandises dans les magasins : ils se logent dans l'hospice : ils vont à l'Eglise : font un tour dans la ville : observent les habillemens, les usages, et les modes qui leur repugnent, parcequ'ils n'y voient point de conformité avec les leurs : ils reviennent à leurs Peuplades : les autres Indiens accourent à eux, les environnent, et on leur entend dire : les Espagnols ne chantent pas le Catéchisme, les hommes ne sont point séparés des femmes dans l'Eglise, et il n'y a point d'huissiers de Chœur. Ils ne baissent point la main du Pere ; ce n'est point lui qui leur donne leur ration ni leur tâche : ils n'ont point

point de vêtemens de coton, et on ne leur donne point les vingt-cinq coups de fouet ; chacun va et vient à son gré, sans une permission par écrit du Pere ; ils se couvrent la tête en sa presence, et ils n'ont point peur de lui. Ce rapport scandalise tous ceux qui l'entendent : ils en concluent que tout ce que les Peres leur ont dit des Espagnols est vrai, et ils conçoivent pour eux la même haine que l'on a en Espagne pour les Maures." Echavarrri, i. p. 258, 9.

XXXI.

A treaty was concluded between the kings of Spain and Portugal in 1750, in order to put an amicable end to the disputes which had long existed respecting the limits of their American colonies, and to establish for the future a natural boundary which should not be liable to be mistaken*. It was agreed,

* It is well known, that, by the decision of Pope Alexander VI. in 1493, all the undiscovered countries both of the New and the Old World were partitioned between the Spaniards and Portuguese. An imaginary line was drawn round the globe from pole to pole, at the distance of a hundred leagues west of the Azore Islands and Cape Verde, places which seem to have been considered as in the same longitude. All countries yet uncolonized, which were situate on the western side of this meridian, were assigned to the Spaniards, all on the eastern to the Portuguese : an assignment, which has probably given occasion to more dissensions than it has prevented. The historians, who have related this memorable instance of Romish presumption, have not always been careful to remark, that the limit defined by Alexander was extended to a farther distance of two hundred and seventy leagues, at the congress of Tordeillas in the following year, by a private agreement between the courts of Portugal and Castile. (Herrera, i. 10.) Without this change in the line of demarcation, it could scarcely have been ever imagined, even according

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that Portugal should cede to Spain the colony of St. Sacramento, and the entire navigation of the Rio de la Plata; and that Spain, on the other hand, should cede to Portugal the district of territory, which was bounded by the river Uruguay to the west, and by the Ibicuy to the south. Between these rivers were situate seven of the missionary settlements of the Jesuits, among the Guaranis Indians; which were to be transplanted from the left to the right bank of the

to the imperfect geography of former centuries, that the meridional limit agreed upon intersected the territory surrounding the Rio de la Plata. Such an error, however, existed, and the Portuguese, consequently, claimed to share in the navigation of that river, and founded the town of St. Sacramento on its northern shore, not far below the Spanish settlement of Buenos Ayres on the southern. Numerous dissensions ensued between the colonists of the two nations, in consequence, partly, of the contraband trade carried on from St. Sacramento with the Spanish provinces, nominally by the Portuguese, but really by the English; partly, of that disputable boundary which must ever exist, when it is to be determined by the artificial lines which may be delineated upon a map, instead of the visible and permanent divisions which are elevated or impressed by the hand of nature on the globe itself. Echavarri, ii. 6, &c.

^t The number of the missionary settlements among the Guaranis was thirty-two, containing a population of an hundred thousand souls. Echavarri, i. 36. There is some variety in the accounts; see Muratori, p. 66. Frezier states the whole number of these settlements at forty-two, and, with other writers whom I have seen, estimates them to contain three hundred thousand families, and to be able to bring into the field within eight days an army of sixty thousand men. (Frezier, cited Benard, Disc. Prelim. pp. 93, 94.) This calculation I cannot but suppose greatly exaggerated, though for *families* we read *persons*, as probably was intended.

Ura-

Uruguay ; the Indians being permitted to carry with them their transportable property, and the expences of their removal being defrayed ^u.

In relating this arrangement, I am far from wishing to defend in any degree the attempt of the government of Spain to expel, for reasons of state, the peaceful inhabitants of the missions from possessions, which they had long cultivated with their own hands; from a country endeared to them by the memory of their ancestors, by the habits of affection, and the prejudices of superstition and ignorance.

It is natural to suppose, that the Jesuits must have viewed with just repugnance so tyrannical a measure. Interested with a paternal zeal for the welfare of their Indian proselytes, they could not willingly see them driven from their habitations, to subdue the wildness of unreclaimed deserts, and encounter all the hardships which new colonists, though under the most favourable circumstances, must always necessarily suffer. They considered also, perhaps justly, that this invasion of their " holy republic" would only be the prelude to other inroads of Spanish domination, which would terminate in a reduction of the Indians to the most oppressive slavery, and in the entire extinction of their own authority ^x. Accordingly, on the first notice of the treaty

^u Echavarri, part. ii. livre i. chap. 1. Bougainville, *Voyage autour du Monde*, 8vo. vol. i. chap. 7.

^x Echavarri, ii. p. 276. It seems in reality, that orders were given in 1756, similar to those issued eleven years afterwards, by which the Jesuits were to be expelled from the missions, and secular clergy and regulars of other orders established in their place.

of

of limits, they tried every expedient of negotiation or delay to avert the impending blow. Their efforts, however, were in vain. The orders of Spain were peremptory ^y.

The commissaries who were sent from Europe to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty, bore letters from the General of the Jesuits, commanding the ecclesiastics of that order to pay implicit obedience to the authority of Spain, and, by their influence in the missions, to facilitate as much as possible the execution of the measures which had been determined on. It is however suspected, that secret instructions were sent from the General, of a nature totally different from his public dispatches ^z; and it is not at all improbable, that, though fearful openly to encourage any resistance in Paraguay, he may have secretly desired its independance ^a.

Without entering into a particular detail of events, it may be observed, that, a pacific execution of the treaty being found impracticable, war was declared against the Guaranis Indians in the month of May, 1753, and that in 1754 the Spanish and Portuguese

^y Echavarri, chapp. 2, 3.

^z Ibid. pp. 56. 67. 79.

^a It is clear, that the arrival of the orders from Spain to withdraw the seven missionary settlements within the line of demarcation, produced a division among the Jesuits. Some were sincerely desirous to promote, others to oppose their execution. This division is plausibly accounted for by Echavarri, on the supposition, that the one party had received secret intimations of the General's wish, and the other only his public letters. It is known that the inferior Jesuits were not usually intrusted with the mysterious policy of the order.

armies.

armies commenced hostilities against the missions^b, Bougainville, who had the opportunity of procuring information on the spot, relates, that none of the Jesuits appeared at the head of the Indians during the revolt. It is said, he adds, that those fathers were retained in the villages by force, to exercise the sacerdotal functions^c. It probably is true, that they appeared not in the field of battle, but there is sufficient evidence that they shared, at least, in directing the operations of the Indian armies. It is, indeed, scarcely credible; that a timid people, for whom the Jesuits were habituated to think and act in the most minute particulars, should on a sudden take up arms without their concurrence, though in defence of their interests. The most positive evidence may likewise be alleged from the Ephemerides of Father Thadéo Ennis, a Jesuit, who was himself concerned in no inconsiderable degree in the conduct of the Paraguayan war^d. This work seems to be authentic, and was originally composed in Latin, with the intention, it is said, of being sent to the General of the Jesuits. It comprises a journal of the events of the war, from its commencement in 1754, to the month of May, 1756, when the papers of Father Thadéo were seized at the capture of the post of St. Lorenzo. A French translation is subjoined to the work of Echavarri.

After noticing the report, that a Portuguese force had appeared on the frontier of the missions, Father Thadéo proceeds thus, almost at the commencement

^b Echavarri, part. ii. livre iii. chap. 2.

^c Voyage autour du Monde, ubi sup.

^d Relation Abrégée, p. 65.

of the Journal. " Comme je fus appelé de ce côté-là, je partis pour y porter du secours avec les gardes de troupeaux des terres voisines ; mon intention étoit aussi que l'armée qui étoit sortie des peuplades pour aller au-devant des Espagnols, se trouvât à tems sur ce lieu, pour que nous pûssions, par ce moyen, attaquer l'ennemi de tous les côtés à la fois ^c." See also p. 369 of the same Journal. " Tandis que tous les préparatifs de notre parti ne consistoient que dans des conseils, et que tous les curés étoient dans le plus grand engourdissement, des avis, qu'on recevoit journellement de différens côtés, nous confirmèrent la marche de l'ennemi. Enfin un seul Curé (le pere Thadée Ennis lui-même) sortit de cette léthargie, et entreprit d'inspirer de la vigueur aux Indiens. Il leur représenta que ce n'étoit pas le moment d'agir mollement ; il leur conseilla de rassembler les troupes, et de les faire marcher vers la frontiere, de peur que l'ennemi ne se portât dans les campagnes les plus reculées, et par conséquent les plus éloignées de tout secours, et ne les ravageât impunément sans qu'on fût en état de l'arrêter. ' Ne fera-t-il pas trop tard,' leur disoit-il, ' d'aller à la distance de cent lieues à la rencontre de l'ennemi, quand il est déjà entré dans votre pays ? L'ennemi peut pénétrer partout : les Portugais porteront leur camp au milieu de vos habitations, qu'ils ravageront l'une après l'autre ; ils vous couperont les vivres, dont nous ressentons déjà une disette ; en un mot, il vaut toujours mieux prévenir l'ennemi que d'en être prévenu.' Ces raisons déterminèrent enfin les Indiens à envoyer de nouveaux

^c Ephemerides, p. 218.

couriers partout pour exciter tous les confédérés à se mettre en mouvement."

Numerous other quotations might be made of precisely similar import. Could any records be procured of the transactions of the Jesuit council, which appears to have held permanent sittings at Candalaria^f, they might be less interesting to the statesman, but would not, probably, be less worthy the attention of a philosopher, than those of European cabinets.

The campaign of 1754 proved altogether indecisive; which was owing rather to the indolence of the Spanish and Portuguese commanders, than to the resistance opposed to them. The year 1755 was not signalized by any military operations^g. In 1756, the combined armies again took the field against the Indians, whom they defeated with great slaughter^h. The loss of the vanquished in killed alone is estimated in the *Relation Abrégée*, published by order of the court of Portugal, at twelve hundred men. Bougainville states it at upwards of two thousand. Father Thadéo diminishes the number to six hundredⁱ. The subsequent operations of the campaign seem fully to have completed the conquest, and the missions were reduced to accede to whatever terms, or rather submit to whatever regulations, the conquerors might be willing to impose^k.

^f *Ephemerides*, pp. 339. 372. Echavarri, vol. ii. p. 208.

^g Echavarri, part. ii. livre iii. chap. 3. *Ephemerides*, an. 1755.

^h Echavarri, *ibid.* pp. 235—241.

ⁱ *Relation Abrégée*, p. 60. Bougainville, *ubi sup.* *Ephemerides*, p. 388.

^k Echavarri, *ubi sup.* et livre iv. chap. i. p. 262. Bougainville, *ubi supra*.

No farther impediment to the execution of the treaty of limits appeared likely to arise, when the exchange of territory proposed as its object was suddenly abandoned, in consequence of disagreements between Spain and Portugal, which there seems to be sufficient ground for attributing to the machinations of the Jesuits¹. On the rupture of the treaty, the missions of Paraguay recurred in all respects to their preceding state, and the Jesuits, of course, recovered their former authority.

In the year 1767, however, the court of Spain, determined on the expulsion of the Jesuits, as well from its American as its European dominions, dispatched orders to the Governor of Buenos Ayres, to arrest and send prisoners to Europe the Jesuits of Paraguay. Bougainville, then in the Rio de la Plata on his voyage of discovery, was witness to the execution of these orders, and his relation of the circumstances with which it was attended is worthy of being consulted. The Jesuits every where surrendered themselves without resistance. The preceding war must have instructed them in the uselessness of opposition, even though the disastrous fortune, which their order was experiencing in Europe, had not taught them that the empire of Loyola was no more.

The formal administration of the missions has undergone but few alterations since the expulsion of the Jesuits. The ecclesiastical offices have been committed to religious of the orders of la Merci, of St. Dominic, and St. Francis, who pursue in most respects the system, but do not possess the temporal

¹ Echavarri, part. ii. liv. 4. Bougainville, ubi sup.

authority, of their predecessors ^m. "Instead of the officers and superintendants being selected by the rector only, they are now made subordinate to the military, who are appointed by the governor of the province : and, instead of being commanded by Indian chiefs, they are subjected to a Spanish commandant and fiscal, to whom even the rector is answerable for the conduct of his flock ⁿ." Is it to be hoped, that these changes will not be a prelude to the reduction of the inhabitants of these missions to that state of bitter slavery, which is experienced by the other Indians of the Spanish colonies ?

Bougainville, on the authority of Viana himself, the Governor of Monte-Video, relates, that when that officer, who had borne the chief share in conducting the operations of the Paraguayan war, received orders to quit the missions, a great number of the Indians, discontented with their mode of life, were desirous to follow him ^o. Bougainville was surprised at their discontent. Surely, however, the despotic policy of the Jesuits is sufficient to account for it, without supposing even a single instance of particular injury to have occurred. The supply of bodily necessities, and the absence of bodily oppression, happily for the welfare of society, is not a state in which mankind will for any long period contentedly acquiesce. The mind naturally looks for something by which it may be interested and engaged ; nor is it for ever satisfied with the pompous ceremonies and protracted artifices of a religious ceremonial. The

^m Raynal, iii. 187.

ⁿ Davie's Letters, p. 223.

^o Bougainville, p. 182.

existence among the Indians of a desire to have some real employment of their faculties, is manifested in a decree of the Provincial of Paraguay, of which the date is not mentioned by the author in whose work I find it cited, but which must necessarily have been prior to the expedition of Viana: "*Parceque les Indiens ont donné à connoître dans quelques peuplades l'envie qu'ils avoient de s'introduire dans le gouvernement politique contre l'autorité des Peres P.*" It may be collected, also, from the duration of the period being shortened, for which the Indians, who were employed in the subordinate offices of the missions, were permitted to retain their stations^q. The mind, probably, is then most sensible to mental and political degradation, where the actual severities of oppression are little to be dreaded, or rarely inflicted; as in political insurrections among people subjected to the galling yoke of bodily slavery, it has usually been more the object to change the tyrant, than to remove the tyranny.

XXXII.

The evidence, which was adduced on the prosecutions of the Duke of Aveiro, and others, in 1758, for conspiracy against the life of the King of Portugal, does not seem to implicate the Jesuits; though, indeed, the vindication of their society, compiled on this occasion by the Jesuits of Rome, is not less unsatisfactory, than the accusation, which it professes to refute, is unsupported. (See the *Recueil des Décrets Apost.* &c. 2de part. p. 94, &c.) The authors of

^p Echavarri, i. p. 264.

^q Ibid. i. p. 270.

this performance seem to have been unwilling to renounce explicitly the justifiableness of tyrannicide, (p. 117.) or to relinquish the claim of that wretched fanatic, Malagrida, to sanctity and inspiration^r. (p. 121, &c.) This was a continuation of the ancient system. Campion, Briant, Oldcorne, and Garnet, who had declared of himself, that it was expedient for one man to die for the people, are among the English saints, who are to be found in all the martyrologies of the Jesuits. Clement and Chastel had been strenuously justified by them in France, and the exploit of the former of these assassins had been compared to those of Judith and Eleazar. Anti-Cotton, pp. 80—90.

XXXIII.

Father de la Valette was sent to Martinique in 1743, in the capacity of Curé of the small parish of Carbet, about a mile distant from St. Pierre. In 1747, or 1748, he was nominated Superior or Rector of the Maison de la Martinique, and soon after Pro-

* Malagrida had declared, that the Virgin Mary commanded him to write the life of Antichrist, assuring him, that he should be a second John, but much more explicit than the Evangelist. He asserted, that there would be three Antichrists, the last of whom would be born at Milan in 1920, and marry the infernal Proserpine. (*Procès Verbal de Condamnation de G. Malagrida*, Amst. 12mo. p. 12. 1762.) He pretended to have worked miracles, (*ibid.* pp. 18, 19.) and to have had many conversations with dead saints, St. Ignatius, St. F. Borgia, St. Bonaventure, St. Philip of Neri, St. Charles Borromée, &c. (*ibid.* 20.) and that God himself had menaced him with rejection from the kingdom of heaven, if he did not write the life of St. Anne, and the treatise concerning Antichrist. (p. 23.)

cureur

cureur Général of the Jesuit missions in the Windward Islands.

It is known, that the current value of European specie is considerably greater in the West Indies than in Europe. The coin of France, for example, at the period above mentioned, lost one third of its value on being transported from Martinique to the mother country ; the crown of six livres Tournois being current in the colony for nine livres. Little specie, consequently, was sent to France, but remittances were almost always converted into the produce of the colony. Even this produce, however, still sold in France for a less sum than it had originally cost, in currency, at Martinique. It is obvious, that, in these circumstances, the establishment of a regular exchange on more moderate terms between the two countries would prove of great convenience to such persons in Martinique, as were desirous of remitting money to France, but were now compelled first to convert it into colonial produce, and then wait the chances of a voyage, and of a second sale. Father la Valette seems here to have seen a grand opportunity for speculation.

Having made his calculations, he undertook to give bills on France, at long dates of twenty-four, thirty, and thirty-six months, for the whole amount of sums that were paid to him in currency at Martinique. This money, as soon as received, he laid out in produce, which he exported to France, and received its value in the coin of Portugal, which had some relative advantage in point of West India currency over the French.

For example. La Valette received at Martinique

£ 3

6000

6000 livres currency; which in France would amount to only 4000. He converted them into sugar and coffee, which would not, indeed, sell in France for the same nominal sum which they cost, but on which, however, no greater loss than about 20 per cent. would be sustained. These 6000 livres, therefore, would produce 4800 livres in France, which were next converted into the gold coin of Portugal, namely, the johannes, each current in France for about 41 livres, and in Martinique for 66. This specie exported to Martinique would amount to 7725 livres currency, and afford a profit upon the whole speculation of 1725 livres. The whole of this process occupied about four months: but supposing the returns to be made only twice a year, the bills drawn in the first instance by La Valette being at the long dates of two or three years, he would make a profit, before the money originally advanced to him became payable, of 116 per cent. in the one instance, and 160 in the other*.

I do not mention these circumstances with the same purpose, for which they seem to have been sometimes alleged; that of taxing Father la Valette with making an inordinate and usurious profit. Perhaps the advantage of his system may have consisted rather in his being able to carry it on without any capital of his own, than in any unusual profit upon

* This calculation is not exactly accurate; but the errors are so trifling, that I have not thought it worth while to alter the statement of the *Mémoire à consulter et consultation pour Jean Lioncy, &c.* in which it is found, (ed. 12mo. Paris, 1761. pp. 5, 6.) It should be observed, however, that the profit upon the increased capital is not taken into consideration.

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the investments: for it is manifest, though it does not seem to have been noticed by either party in the legal processes which were instituted in France upon this question, that La Valette took upon himself all risks, both from the common accidents of shipwreck, and the enemy, and from the perishable nature of the commodities which he exported. It will be seen, indeed, that he calculated somewhat too sanguinely on the safety of his equipments.

The commencement of this speculation was very successful. The chief correspondents of La Valette in Europe seem to have been the Sieurs Lioncy and Gouffre at Marseille; and this house became at length so habituated to his punctuality, that it scrupled not accepting his drafts, even before the arrival of the consignments by which they were to be discharged: and this, in some instances, to the amount of three millions and a half of livres. The flourishing state of his business enabled La Valette to set on foot extensive and lucrative establishments both in Martinique, and in the neighbouring island of Dominica. He surmounted with much address several difficulties which threatened the most fatal consequences, and at length acquired by his success so much credit with his order, as to be appointed Visitor General, and Apostolical Prefect of the Society's missions in the Windward Islands. But the regularity of his intercourse with Europe was about to be interrupted by a blow, which in its consequences proved fatal to the existence of the Jesuits in France.

La Valette had drawn bills on the SS. Lioncy for sums amounting to more than a million and half of livres, and consigned to them, at the same time, ef-

fects more than sufficient to cover the sums for which he had drawn. These bills had been accepted, but the ships on which the effects had been embarked were taken by the English ; the war having begun, which was terminated by the peace of Paris in 1763. On the news of this capture arriving in France, the credit of the house of Lioncy sunk immediately. These merchants applied, however, to Father de Sacy, Procureur General at Paris of the missions to South America, and even to the General of the Jesuits himself, for assistance to support their credit. Father de Sacy sent in return whatever sums he could raise on the emergency, but these were very insufficient. Still it was so completely felt, that the credit of the society was involved in the support of the Lioncys, as connected with that of La Vallette, that, had not the death of Visconti, General of the Jesuits, intervened, and six months elapsed before the appointment of his successor, Centurioné, there can be no doubt, but that all the resources of the order would have been employed for that purpose. De Sacy, indeed, in the month of February 1756, received from the new General a commission to borrow, in the name of the society, to the amount of half a million of livres, apparently for the express purpose of assisting the house of Lioncy. This was immediately communicated to the correspondent of that house at Paris, who dispatched an express with the intelligence to Marseille. The courier, however, arrived too late. He reached Marseille on the twenty-second of February, and the Lioncys had become bankrupts on the nineteenth.

Could the Jesuits by any efforts have prevented
this

this explosion, it probably would not have occurred ; but they seem, immediately on its arrival, to have abandoned MM. Lioncy to their fate. They had the insolence to recommend them to God, and to offer up masses for their relief, and then applied themselves to find out new channels, through which the commerce of Martinique might be transacted.

These facts, which are taken from the *Mémoire à consulter et consultation pour Jean Lioncy, &c.* printed at Paris in 1761, are either not denied by the Jesuits, or so clearly established, as not to be shaken by their denial. It is manifest, also, that the General and Procureur General of the order concerned themselves *officially* in the commerce carried on by Father de la Valette. They assumed the power of transferring his agencies, and money due to him on account from one person to another: a power, which the merchants, to whom these orders were issued, did not think themselves at liberty to question. They had the still farther imprudence to defend the action, which was brought against them by the creditors of the SS. Lioncy, to recover the debt which had been incurred by La Valette. This suit was decided by the Parliament of Paris, on the eighth of May, 1761, in favour of the plaintiffs, to whom the sum of 1,502,276 livres was awarded, the full amount of their demand; and 50,000 livres costs were adjudged to Messieurs Lioncy, by way of indemnification for a bankruptcy, of which the conduct of the Jesuits had been the cause. (*Plaidoyer contre les Jesuites, and Ann. Reg. 1761. Chronicle Paris, May 9.*)

The circumstances which have been here related are so curious in themselves, and so immediately connected

connected with the suppression of the Jesuits in France; that I have been unwilling to omit the mention of them. In general, however, it may be observed, that I have declined all animadversion on the commerce of these ecclesiastics. I have abstained from this portion of their history, partly because it would lead into a very wide series of details, and partly because there is, perhaps, no other point on which they have been so much calumniated, and where the calumny is so difficult to detect.

An account of their commerce in India, and many interesting particulars connected with this subject, may be found in Du Quesne's *Voyage to the East Indies*, vol. iii. p. 114, &c. ed. Rouen, 1721. cit. Norbert, iii. 89. La Croze says, that the revenues derived by the Jesuits from the Portuguese establishments in India were greater than those derived by the King of Portugal from the same source. (*Christianisme des Indes*, p. 337.) For notices on their commerce in Paraguay, see Echavarri, vol. i. part. i. liv. 2. *Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques*, &c. i. 108, &c. and 180. Muratori, 185. and a *Mémoire Apologetique*, inserted in the ninth volume of the *Lettres-Edifiantes*, p. 187. ed. 1781. Venegas, in the *History of California*, (London, 2 vol. 8vo. 1759. vol. ii. 375.) owns, that the whole commerce of that peninsula is in the hands of the Jesuits; but adds, that it is necessary it should be so, since no other Europeans are settled there.

It was rumoured, on the suppression of the order, that the value of its estates and effects in Mexico amounted to three hundred and eighty-five millions of livres, and that the Jesuits of Peru and the south-

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ern provinces of the Spanish West Indies were richer than those of Mexico. (Ann. Reg. 1767. p. 33.) A letter from Don Emanuel d'Amas, viceroy of Peru, to the King of Spain, bearing date the sixth of September, 1766, says, "that the Jesuit priests have a warehouse in the city of Lima, where most of the agents of South America reside, and whither all sorts of merchandize are sent for sale in that country; and that they have like warehouses in the other cities, in order to carry on a universal, and, indeed, an exclusive commerce: for paying no contribution, and being at very little expence, they find a quick sale for their goods, and take ready money; leaving only for the lay merchants the debts and failures of those who purchase on credit." (Ann. Reg. vol. x. p. 137.) In the Jesuits' College at Barcelona are said to have been found riches to the amount of twelve millions of crowns. (Ibid. 142.)

But these accounts of the wealth of the Jesuits are manifestly exaggerated, and it now seems to be admitted, that the treasures actually found in the colleges of the order, upon its suppression, by no means corresponded with that opinion of its immense opulence, which had generally prevailed. We may suppose, indeed, the pecuniary resources of the society to have been at that time drained, for the vain purpose of averting its destruction. Some treasure, also, was doubtless secreted; and, from these causes, its coffers were then, probably, unusually empty.

XXXIV.

The Jesuits had been suspended from preaching and confessing in the patriarchate of Lisbon, by an ordi-

ordinance of the Cardinal d'Atalaya, dated June 7, 1758: but it was the attempt on the life of his most faithful Majesty, which was made on the third of September in the same year, that proved the immediate cause of their expulsion from Portugal. (12me Piece du Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques, &c. vol. i. p. 185.) Their property in that country was sequestered, their papers seized, and their persons committed to military custody, by an edict of the 19th Jan. 1759. (20me Piece *ibid.* p. 266.) Another edict was published on the third of September, the anniversary of the attack upon the King, by which they were "deprived of the rights of subjects, proscribed, and exterminated from the kingdom." 34me Piece, 2de part. *ibid.* p. 180. The unmixed severity of this decree respected, indeed, the professed Jesuits alone. Natives of Portugal, who had only taken upon themselves the simple vows, might apply to be released from their obligation, and to be dismissed from the order. On such dismissal, they were permitted to continue in the country as private persons. (*Ibid.* pp. 185, 186.)

The execution of this decree was attended with circumstances of extreme hardship. One hundred and seventeen of the professed members of the order are said to have been embarked at Lisbon, on the night of the 15th of September, to pass the remainder of their lives in the fortrefs of Magazan, or the forts of the island of Tercera^t. (Ann. Reg. 1759. Oct. 31.) One hundred and thirty-three persons of

^t I suspect, however, this account to be erroneous, and to originate in a mistake as to the destination of those Jesuits, who in reality were sent to Italy.

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the same description were deported to the Papal territories, and disembarked at Civita Vecchia on the 24th of October. Two Ragusian vessels arrived at Marseille on the 26th of the same month, with one hundred and twenty-one Jesuits on board, of whom ten were permitted to land, but obliged to re-embark the same evening, in consequence of some indiscretion committed by them. These vessels, a few hours afterwards, were ordered to quit the road, though the weather was unfavourable to navigation. They next arrived at Genoa, where they met with a still more inhospitable reception. At Leghorn, also, notwithstanding the most pressing solicitations, and vivid representations of the miserable condition to which the persons embarked in them were reduced, the Governor refused permission to land. Express orders had been given by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Empress Queen, that none of the Jesuits who were expelled from Portugal should be admitted into their states. Other vessels, which followed the same route, experienced the same fate; and similar prohibitions were issued by the republic of Venice, and the kings of Naples, Spain, and Sardinia. At length, however, these unhappy ecclesiastics found a refuge in the territories of the Pope. (*Avertissement préfixé au Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques, &c. chap. 24. Histoire Générale des Jesuites, vol. iii. p. 51.*) The Jesuits of the Portuguese dominions in India were recalled, and sent to Italy in the year 1761. (*Ann. Reg. 1761. Chronicle, June 25.*)^u

^u It is curious to observe, that, on the suppression of the Jesuits in Portugal, their system of education was equally prohibited with the rest of their institute. An edict was passed by the
King

The parliaments of Paris, of Bretagne, and Toulouse, constituted the chief theatre, in which the af-

King of Portugal on the 28th of June, 1759, by which "the schools of humanity belonging to the Jesuits are abolished, their method of teaching is forbidden to be used, and a new method prescribed." (33me Piece du Recueil des Décrets Apost. &c. part. ii. p. 140.) "From the publication of the present decree, all classes and schools which had been confided to them for the instruction of my faithful subjects, but which have produced the most pernicious and fatal consequences, are to be considered as dissolved, and are in effect dissolved accordingly; the very memory of them being abolished, as if they had never existed in these kingdoms, where they have caused the most horrible and enormous crimes." Ibid. p. 144. A new system of humanity learning is then ordained throughout all Portugal, and the whole method of the Jesuits, their grammars, and commentaries are proscribed, and those of their adversaries recommended. Next follow "Instructions for the Professors of the Latin grammar, of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and of Rhetoric, made and published by order of our Lord the King, for the use of the schools newly founded in these kingdoms, and their dependancies." Ibid. p. 155. It is not a little amusing, to see rules for the composition of themes included in a royal edict, with grave recommendations of the Port-Royal Grammar, and Sanctius's Minerva; the dictionaries of Gefner and Facciolati; the lexica of Schrevelius, Scapula, and Stephens.

These literary obligations of the Portuguese to their considerate sovereign may be compared with the similar injunctions of the Papal legate to France, in 1215, which direct the course of studies to be pursued in the University of Paris. (Launoy de varia Aristotelis fortuna, p. 87. ed. 8vo. Paris. 1662.) I know not whether either the Jesuits or the King of Portugal would have been flattered by a comparison between the proscription of the writings of that society, in the middle of the eighteenth century, at Lisbon, and the persecution of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* by the Council of Sens, or Paris in the year 1209. "qui quoniam non solum hæresi (Almarici) sententiis subtilibus occasionem præbebant, immo et aliis nondum inventis præbere poterant, iussi sunt omnes comburi; et sub pœna excommunicationis cautum est in eodem Concilio,

fairs of the Jesuits, during the course of the same year, (1761,) were agitated in France. On the 6th

filio, ne quis eos de cætero scribere, et legere præsumeret, vel quocunque modo habere." Rigordus cited, Launoy. *ibid.* pp. 6, 7. It does not seem, however, that this interdiction was intended to continue longer, than till the dangerous writings to which it relates should be satisfactorily corrected. But the limitation did not procure implicit obedience to the command which it accompanied, even when that command afterwards received the sanction of the Pope himself. Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus still dared to read and comment, which reduces Launoy to great difficulties, in endeavouring to defend the illustrious St. Thomas from the imputation of *Aristotelizing*. Launoy, *ubi sup.* pp. 83, 85. The bigotry in the two cases seems nearly alike; though, indeed, it must be allowed, that the system of education adopted by the Jesuits was directed, as much as possible, to confirm their own ascendancy, and promote the reception of their own doctrines. It was enacted in the constitutions themselves, "that, in the study of the sacred languages, not only the understanding of Scripture be kept in view, but also the defence of the authorized version." Bouhours, *Vie de St. Ignace*, p. 315. "That it be less kept in view," is the reading in Dom Inigo, i. p. 193. It is to be presumed, that the Jesuits would be at least equally solicitous to propagate their own maxims, as to defend the vulgate translation. This justice, however, is due to them, and ought not to be withheld, that they were, as a body, far more studious to promote the interests of learning, than any other of the ecclesiastical societies. See W. Whitaker cited, R. Simon, *Hist. Critique du Vieux Testament*, liv. iii. chap. 19. That we may fairly estimate their merits in this respect, it is just to recollect, that at the period of the Reformation, "the faculty of Theology at Paris declared before the Parliament assembled, 'That religion was undone, if the study of Greek and Hebrew was permitted.' The mendicant monks held another language. Observe the expressions of one of those common soldiers of Hochstraten's army. Conrad of Heresbach, a very grave and respectable author of that period, thus relates the monk's own words. 'They have invented a new language, which they call Greek: you must be carefully on your guard against

of August, 1762, their constitutions were condemned unanimously by the parliament of Paris ; the order was declared to be dissolved ; and its property confiscated. Most of the other parliaments of the kingdom adopted similar measures. At the close of the year, it was enacted by the parliament of Paris, that all Jesuits, whether professed, or not, who chose to continue in the kingdom, should, within eight days, take an oath of renunciation to their institute. It may be thought, that the members of a society so notorious for its indirect casuistry might, on so tempting an occasion, have been disposed to avail themselves of their ancient doctrine of mental reservation : but it is recorded to their honour, that “ these men, who were thought disposed to sport with the most solemn obligations of religion, and had been often represented as so disposed, refused almost all of them to take the oath required ; in consequence of which they received orders, which were rigorously executed, to quit the kingdom. In vain did many of them represent their age, their infirmities, and their services : scarcely any one of their requests was admitted. The punishment so justly inflicted on the society was carried, with respect to individuals, to an extreme, though, perhaps, necessary severity.” D’Alembert, pp. 137, 138. and Ann. Register, 1762. Chronicle, Dec. 13.

against it : it is the mother of all heresy. I observe in the hands of many persons a book written in that language, and which they call the New Testament. It is a book full of daggers and poison. As to the Hebrew, my dear brethren, it is certain, that all those who read it become instantaneously Jews.” Villers on the Reformation, Engl. Translation by Mills, pp. 93, 94. note.

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The arrêts of the Parliament were confirmed by a royal edict of November 1764, "whereby his Majesty dissolves the society of Jesuits for ever; but permits them, nevertheless, to reside in his kingdom as individuals, under subjection to the spiritual superiors of the places where they reside, and on conforming themselves to the laws, and behaving in all respects as becomes good subjects." Ann. Reg. 1764. art. dated Paris, Dec. 7. Chronicle, Dec. 31. On the 7th of Jan: 1765, Clement XIII. issued a bull, by which the order was confirmed and approved. This bull was suppressed by the Parliament of Paris^a; and even the liberty before allowed was taken away by an arrêt of May 1767, by which all Jesuits were ordered to quit France in fifteen days, under pain of a criminal prosecution, and forbid ever to return under any pretence whatever. Ibid. 1765. Chronicle, Feb. 19. and Oct. 31. and 1767. Hist. of Europe, chap. v. Chalotais, Compte rendu. D'Alembert, pp. 112, 129, 133, 142, &c. L'Art de vérifier les dates, iii. tomes, fol. Paris, 1787. vol. i. p. 721—723.

The Jesuits of Spain were sent to Civita Vecchia in 1767, as the members of the same order in Portugal had been sent there in 1759, (see Ann. Reg. 1767. Hist. of Europe, chap. v. and a translation of the king of Spain's ordinance on the subject. Ibid. p. 185.) but the Pope and Cardinals after consultation on the subject refused them permission to land. "The convoy, after lying some time in the harbour, received

^a It was suppressed also in Portugal by letters patent under the sign manual of the king.

orders to proceed to Bastia; and the French court made use of its influence with the republic of Genoa to receive the Jesuits in the towns that remained in its hands in the island of Corsica. At length the embarkation from Civita Vecchia arrived at Bastia: here they were as unfortunate as before: matters were not yet brought to a conclusion between the French and the Genoese, and they were obliged to remain on board in the harbour. Three other embarkations took at different times the same route as the first to Civita Vecchia; where meeting with the same fate, they afterwards proceeded to Corsica, where they lay in the harbours of Bastia and San Fiorenzo, but were not permitted to land. The conditions being at length settled with the republic, the different embarkations received orders to sail to Calvi, Algaïola, and Ajaccio; at which ports the transports were disburdened of their unhappy freight, and the surviving Jesuits, to the number, it is said, of 2300, were laded." Ibid. The Jesuits of Mexico were arrested in the month of July in the same year, and together with the members of the order who had been resident in Paraguay, and the other foreign dominions of Spain, were transported to Europe, and became partakers of the same fate. See De Pagés, vol. i. p. 155, &c. ed Paris, 1782.

They found not, however, a permanent asylum even among the barren rocks of Corsica: they were expelled by the French in 1768, and landed at Genoa in great misery, whence they were driven rather than conducted into the Papal territories. Ann. Reg. 1768. Hist. of Europe, chap. viii.

For

For the similar conduct of Ferdinand IV. king of Sicily and Naples, see *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, vol. iii. p. 863. and the Annual Register for 1767. *Hist. of Europe*, chap. v. See also an account of the expulsion of the Jesuits from some of the other Italian states, *ibid.* 1768. *Hist. of Europe*, *ubi sup.*

The Papal cabinet seems to have been divided on the measures to be pursued respecting them. The repulse from Civita Vecchia, in 1767, of those who had been expelled from Spain, was dictated rather by circumstances considered to be imperious than by inclination. "After a strong contest it was determined in a congregation of cardinals held at Rome in 1768, that the expiring society of the Jesuits should be supported as much as possible." *Ann. Reg.* 1768. *Hist. of Europe*, chap. viii. The conduct of Ganganelli in 1769 is stamped with that equitable character which might have been expected from so enlightened and amiable a man. (*Ibid.* 1769. *Hist. of Europe*, chap. v.) It was however by a bull of this pontiff, dated July 21, 1773, that the society was finally suppressed. (*Ibid.* 1773. *Hist. of Europe*, chap. 5.) "In consequence of this bull, ten bishops went at night, attended by a detachment of Corsican soldiers, to all the colleges and houses belonging to the Jesuits in Rome, of which they took possession, and having placed the necessary guards, the communities were assembled, and after the proper notices and forms were gone through, those fathers delivered up their keys, and the locks of their archives being sealed, and effects of all sorts being secured, even to provisions, they were allowed eight days to find new dwellings and to quit

the habit of the order. They at the same time gave up their schools, and resigned all the functions of their ministry of whatever sort or nature. The bull extended to all countries whatever in which they were placed, and sentence of excommunication was denounced against those, who should harbour or conceal any of their effects.

“ Their General, father Ricci, is to be appointed to a bishopric, and such of the Jesuits as were already in holy orders were allowed either to become secular clergymen, or to enter into other orders having first served the accustomed noviciate of that into which they are to enter: pensions are to be allowed out of their former possessions, to those who become secular clerks, and the bishops, under whose jurisdiction they are totally to remain, have a discretionary power to admit such of them as are remarkable for learning and purity of doctrine, to preach and to confess, from which they are totally restrained, without a written licence for that purpose. Those who had gone through the last vows, or who through age and infirmities were unfit to enter into the world, were to be collected and placed in one or more of their ancient houses or colleges, where they are for ever restrained from preaching, confession, and all the functions of their ministry, and are only allowed to exist upon a subsistence for life: the bishops being particularly charged, as they will answer it at the last day, to look to the strict observance of these prohibitions. Such as are disposed to dedicate their time to the instruction of youth, are totally debarred from all share in the government of those colleges
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and schools in which they serve, and the strictest caution is prescribed, that none are admitted to that service, who do not show themselves averse to all spirit of dispute, and who are not untainted with any doctrines which may occasion or stir up frivolous and dangerous controversies. The scholars and novices were returned to their respective homes, and those who had only taken the first vows were discharged from them: and all the statutes, rules, customs, decrees and constitutions of the order, even though confirmed by oath, were totally annulled and abrogated." Ibid. The unfortunate Ricci, however, was detained a prisoner for life in the castle of St. Angelo^b.

Austria, Prussia, and, at a later period, Russia, were the only considerable states that interested themselves to alleviate the misfortunes of the Jesuits^c. The court of Vienna, though emancipated from the dominion of the order, made some representations in its favour to the Pope. (*Hist. Générale des Jesuites*, vol. iii. p. 55.)

^b Ganganelli, it is known, was in a manner compelled by France to sign the bull for the destruction of the Jesuits.

The following anecdote is curious.

"Ganganelli avoit dédié une these au Pere Ricci, général des Jesuites, qu'il a retenu prisonnier ensuite jusqu'à sa mort dans le chateau S. Ange, et cependant le cardinal Spinelli l'avoit fait nommer cardinal parce qu'on avoit apperçu dans sa bibliotheque une armoire secrette remplie de livres contre les Jesuites." La Lande, *Voyage en Italie*, vol. iv. p. 448.

^c "Prince Charles of Lorraine, and several corporations in the Austrian Netherlands, have given such as thought proper to take shelter among them a favourable reception." (*Ann. Reg.* 1762. *Chronicle*, Dec. 13.)

Frederic

Frederic II. was desirous to attract to the states of Prussia a society which would have contributed at least to people, and probably to enrich them, and which was generally considered as rich, commercial, and industrious. He thought probably that by affording to it an asylum in Silesia, or in western Prussia, he might gain to his states whatever property it might be able to secrete from the violent requisitions to which it was exposed in the rest of Europe. This point, however, at the instance of other courts he was obliged to abandon, and to content himself with protecting those Jesuits who had been already settled in his dominions. Even in Prussia the order was abolished in 1776; but its individual members were permitted to continue the exercise of whatever functions they had before discharged. (Mirabeau, *de la Monarchie Prussienne*, vol. i. livre ii. p. 356, 358. 8vo. à Londres, 1788. Ann. Reg. 1776. Chronicle, March 14.)

Russia seems to have afforded establishment as well as protection to the remnant of an order once so powerful. (Tooke's *Life of Catharine*, vol. iii. p. 5, 7.) "At Polozk in White Russia permission was given by Pope Pius VI. Aug. 15, 1778, with the sanction of the empress of Russia, and by the archbishop of Mohilow, June 28, 1779, to open a house for the reception of novices. The Jesuits of White Russia held a general meeting, July 4, 1782, at Polozk, and elected their Vice Provincial (Stanislaus Czerniewcz) Vicar General, with the full power of a General of the Jesuits, October 17, 1782. After his death, which happened July 28, 1785, Gabriel Lem-

Lemkiewitz the Rector, and first assistant, succeeded to his office. This account is taken from the Berlin Journal, called the Monatschrift, of November, 1785, p. 418, and the newspapers of Warsaw. It occurs likewise in the "full account of Jesuitism, as it exists at present, the principles of the Rosicrucians, the rage to make profelytes, promote a union of religions, &c." Dornford's Translation of Pütter's Historical Development of the present Political Constitution of the Germanic Empire, vol. iii. p. 195, 196.

The Jesuits have also been re-established in the two Sicilies, and, I believe, in some of the minor states of Italy, where they devote themselves either solely or principally to the business of education. It cannot, however, be doubted, but that their power is completely and for ever annihilated^d.

In contemplating this history, it is impossible not to be struck with the very surprising coincidence between the real event, and certain predictions, which were made during the infancy of the order respecting its future character and fate. Borgia the third General professed himself apprehensive, lest "the time should come, when the society would be much oc-

^d I could have wished to have given a more complete and satisfactory account of the suppression of the Jesuits than these pages afford. The reader may be assured that it is not the want of industry which has prevented me from obtaining on this point any but very meagre documents. Such is the present state of the intercourse between England and the continent, that I have been repeatedly frustrated in my attempts to procure better and more ample authorities than those which I have possessed.

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cupied with the study of letters, but without any affection for virtue : when pride and ambition would bear rule : and there would be no one to arrest their progress. Be warned," he adds, " by the first counsel which I give you, lest you should learn from experience what reason gives too much cause to apprehend." (Benard, vol. ii. p. 336.)

But the most singular anticipation of this kind that I have ever seen is in a passage cited by Mac-laine, (Notes to Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 96.) from a sermon preached by Dr. George Brown, archbishop of Dublin, in the year 1551, only eleven years after the foundation of the order. " But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes and Pharisees manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into divers forms ; with the Heathens a Heathenist, with the Atheists an Atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the Reformers a Reformade, purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you, at last, to be like the fool that said, in his heart, there was no God. These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser : charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and the secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it : which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their sins ; yet in the end, God,

God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them ; so that at the end, they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than the Jews, having no resting place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit."

ERRATA.

P. 156. Notes (f) and (g). for Niebuhr, read Thunberg.

APPENDIX.

P. 9, l. 22, for *votum* read *totum*

p. 18, l. 25, for Salmonet read Salmeron

p. 48, l. 6, read *summa*

p. 70, note (i), l. 9, étoient read étoit

